

INSIDE:

SPRINGSTEEN—THE BOSS IS BACK



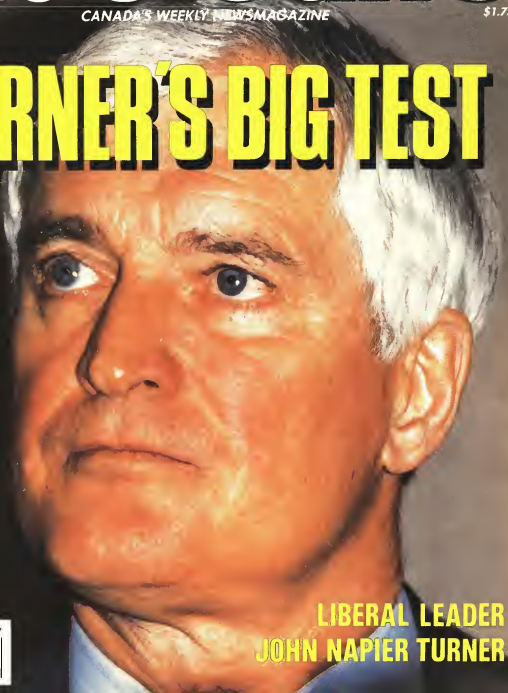
Maclean's

NOVEMBER 24, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

\$1.75

TURNER'S BIG TEST



**LIBERAL LEADER
JOHN NAPIER TURNER**





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COVER

Turner's big test

Former Liberal cabinet minister Marc Lalonde last week called for a leadership convention to replace John Turner, settling off bitter squabbling within the party. Party members loyal to Turner denounced Lalonde's statement as divisive and disloyal. Others claimed that the Liberals cannot win the next election under the current leader. — **Page A9**

COVER PHOTO BY GUY FETTER



Stevens gets his say

Testifying for the first time at his judicial inquiry, former industry minister Stephen Stevens called the conflict-of-interest charges against him "McCartism." — **Page 22**



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Motherhood's calming force

The personal life of movie actress Melanie Griffith, who plays a free spirit in the recent film *Something Wild*, has settled down with the advent of motherhood. — **Page 29**



The Iranian caper

How Ronald Reagan's friends were entraged. Finally, the President wins an national television last week to defend a secret shipment of U.S. arms to Iran. — **Page 32**



The Boss is back

While Canadian band Glass Tiger swept the Juno awards, the hottest pop news was Bruce Springsteen's new five-disc release — an instant continental bestseller. — **Page 35**



The risks of raw greed

There are few spectacles less edifying than an undressed display of raw political greed. When Canadian politicians flush their hunger for power in public, the sight can be particularly gruesome. The annual occasion for the exercise arises when members of an influential section of a political party decide that the only way in which they can obtain the power that they feel should be theirs is to overthrow the current leader. In the past 30 years the Tories have been more inclined to engage in that kind of intrigue. But now a number of old-guard Liberals—including Marc Lalonde, who delivered the Liberal's Quebec fortress to John Turner in the 1984 leadership race—are playing catch-up by turning on Turner, their leader for only a little more than two years. The Conservatives, at their hungriest, were never that fast.

The reason most often cited by those pressing for a vote in favor of a leadership review at the party convention on Nov. 30 is that the Liberals under Turner cannot win the next election. But with a federal election likely two years or more away, it is hard to conceive of anyone making that prediction for any reason other than to promote candidates more inclined to meet their personal power needs. Turner and the Liberals did lose the 1984 election disastrously, but straight-line projections from that defeat to the next election carry absolutely no legs. At the same time, opinion polls show Turner trailing his party, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and now Leader Ed Broadbent in popularity. But the polls only claim to be a snapshot of opinion at the time they are taken. They are not predictions of what might happen in 1988 or 1989.

That is not to say that the Liberals should win the next election, or even deserve to. But the main role of political parties is to unite disparate individuals around commonly shared ideas and ideals and to provide voters with distinctive alternatives. Canadians pay a great deal of money—directly and indirectly—to support a party system that will fail that function. At the moment, they are being severely shortchanged by the Liberals, who no longer seem united around anything—or anyone. While they agonize over a premature leadership crisis, they are in real danger of becoming irrelevant.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's November 30, 1987

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Kevin Doyle

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take any guff, then get on with a
rousing good time.

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body. By the same token, we're so eager
to share our good fortune, we tend to
turn visitors into fast friends very quickly.

That explains why the whole country
gets involved in tourism, opening up their
homes to visitors on our country farms
and in our cities. New Zealanders don't want
to welcome our visitors and share our
food, lodging and lifestyles. Good food,
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know our country Oh, of course we have
luxury hotels, and we have motels and
condos too. Your dollar's good: worth about
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take any guff, but we will give you a
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Fiscal efficiency

I was very pleased with the level of objectivity with which you covered the CBC's 50th birthday ("The CBC: 50th and fighting," Cover, Nov. 30). The coverage did in fact show that it costs more than \$900 million to preserve "Canadian cultural identity," as taxpayers did in the 1964-1985 fiscal year. There should not be "public pretzel" over budget cuts, as Pierre Beron suggested, but over the computer error that resulted in the loss of \$57 million in public funds. What degree of efficiency must a corporate citizen if it has no incentive to earn a profit?

—BRIAN HILLGRENTH,
Montreal

Heralding a hero

Why is it that Canada is still so slow to honor its heroes? Why is it that John Polansky ("Lionel for a selection," Review, Oct. 25), the fourth Canadian resident to win a Nobel Prize, was not featured on the cover of *Maclean's*? We should jump at the chance to honor this gentle and articulate man who not only has made tremendous achievements in chemistry (against great odds) but also has been such an ardent and active champion of peace (also against great odds).

—DAVID STEINER,
Toronto

Databases abounding

Alain Coole has done your readers a disservice by misrepresenting the range of librarians ("One man's northern obsession," *Business Watch*, Oct. 18). Coole's new on-line database is but



CBC's Pierre Jaramas protests and cuts

one of 3,000 distributed by 906 vendors in North America, almost all of which were developed by or with the co-operation of librarians. Coole's concept of using "numbers instead of words to track and retrieve information" has been applied in other computerized bibliographic services for many years. Coole and Peter V. Newman would do well to check their facts in future. Any librarians will be glad to help.

—JAMES COONEY,
Executive Director,
Canadian Library Association,
Ottawa

Foth's other side

I am one of those readers of *Maclean's* who always opens the magazine at the last page first to read Alisa Fishelberg's latest spoof on Canada's current political and social newsmakers. I must say that for the past year or so I have been growing tired of some of his cynical and satirical work. However, I would like to congratulate him on his recent column on life in Vietnam ("Beyond the Washington influence," Oct. 27). He has painted a succinct and attractive picture of an aspect of American history and culture that is not the first image we require upon whom we think of the United States.

—GREG SULLIVAN,
Waterloo, Ont.

Once in a while, Foth, you let us have a peek at your "other side." Thank you for a truly beautiful and lively feature.

—ALICE BENDERIE,
Lake Charles, N.S.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence is limited to the Editor. *Maclean's* Magazine, Attention: Reader Service, 777 Ave. St., Toronto, Ont. M5N 1A7.

PASSAGES

DEED: Legendary sports figure Francis Michael (Bing) Chancy, 35, vice-president of the Toronto Maple Leafs hockey club and the Hamilton Tiger-Cats football club, from complications following a gall bladder operation, in Toronto (page 54).

DEED: Rosa Becker, 60, who was awarded a \$150,000 half-settlement by the Supreme Court in 1980 as a sex-farm sex man with her common-law husband, but did not receive any money of the money, of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, in Franklin Centre, Que. (page 30).

DEED: Most Rev. Omer Robitoux, 72, Roman Catholic bishop of Churchill-Holbrooke Bay, and four other people, when the twin-engined turboprop plane in which they were travelling crashed at Rennie Island, N.W.T., about 500 km north of Churchill, Man. Robitoux, who was responsible for the eastern half of the Arctic, was known as the "Flying Bishop of the North" because of his frequent plane travel over his vast jurisdiction.

RECOVERING: Queen Mother Elizabeth, 88, from a leg injury suffered four weeks ago, in London last week the Queen Mother received treatment for cuts and bruises she sustained while walking in the grounds of Birkhall, her residence at the royal estate at Balmoral in Scotland.

RECOVERING: Superstar Frank Sinatra, 70, from surgery for the removal of an abscess from his large intestine, at Eisenhower Medical Center in Rancho Mirage, Calif.

EXPECTING: Actress Pridella Presley, 40, co-star of TV's *Dallas*, and her famed Broadway writer-director Marro Gurland, their first child, due early next year. Presley has an 18-year-old daughter, Lisa Marie, from her previous marriage to rock legend Elvis Presley.

DEED: Soviet strategist Vyacheslav Molotov, 96, an organizer of the 1917 Russian Revolution and a key figure in the early political development of the Soviet Union, after a lengthy illness, in Moscow. Molotov was at the center of power in the 1930s and 1940s under Josef Stalin and negotiated the so-called Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. His signing helped trigger the outbreak of the Second World War. In retaliation for the German violation of the pact, Molotov ordered mass production of the beetroot-powder firebombs that came to be known as Molotov cocktails. An outspoken adversary of Nikita Khrushchev, Molotov was ousted from the Communist Party in 1954 but was readmitted in 1966.

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Beside the angry sea

The dark waters of the Atlantic Ocean meet below the reddish cliffs that rise 300 feet out of the sea. In hundreds of villages that perch along the jagged Newfoundland coastline, day-to-day survival is a struggle, with families subsisting on poverty-level incomes—and depending on a single seasonal commodity, fish. In Ochre Pit Cove, where the land, less fishing boats from six communities, bob and sag at the lines securing them to the salt-weathered wood of the government wharf, that debate economic balance is even more precarious. The wharf offers little protection against the open sea. Last December, in the full fury of an Atlantic storm, 40-foot waves caused thousands of dollars' damage to the boats moored in the shallow harbor. Melnick O'Flaherty of Northern Bay lost his \$12,000 boat to the angry storm. "I built that stuff with my own hands," he said. "I was left with nothing but as regular it couldn't afford to repair and no means of earning an income."

The six communities, with a total of

3,000 inhabitants, depend on Ochre Pit Cove, 50 km northwest of St. John's on Cape Breton Bay, for access to the sea. And in a depressed province, where the unemployment rate in their area climbed to 21.1 per cent last September—nearly to the national average

In the fishing villages that perch along the jagged Newfoundland coastline, day-to-day survival is a struggle

of \$3 per cent—the dangerous harbor conditions provoked the fishermen to desperate action. When their plea to the federal department of fisheries and oceans—responsible for providing safe mooring facilities—brought little action, a local committee decided last February to petition U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz for \$5 million in foreign aid, clearing status equivalent

to that of a Third World nation. Last June that request was turned down in a sympathetic letter from the state department sent by the U.S. consul in Halifax. But Pat Layman, president of the committee that sent the request to Washington, refused to give up. He cited Layman: "We just want a chance to earn a decent living."

The disappointment was only the latest chapter in a story of economic despair. It was in 1979 that the fishermen of Ochre Pit Cove first requested that the fisheries department construct a dock complex with a harbor breakwater to protect craft and equipment. Since then, according to Layman, the department's Small Craft Harbours division has agreed that a \$750,000 wharf extension would preserve the safety of boats at Ochre Pit Cove—but has not yet put the case on its priority list. Layman and the other 40 full-time fishermen say that they must take their boats out of the water every five or seven months, drastically reducing their fishing time and incomes. Layman, 48, is a large-bodied man who goes about his work in a heavy-spun wool sweater and a cap bearing the slogan, "I Love Newfoundland." His family settled near Ochre Pit Cove in the 1930s. He and his wife, Jane, live in one of the brightly colored, board houses dotted along the paved

road that hugs the coastline and connects the fishing communities. Like many other Newfoundlanders, Layman has become disillusioned with the neo-conservative dream that the province would get rich as the proceeds of offshore oil and gas. "Fishing will always be the backbone of the economy," maintained Layman. "We are having hard times, but fishing is in our blood." But O'Flaherty, 38, and his wife, Teresa, 34, who went further into debt re-equipping themselves after the storm, are less optimistic. Said O'Flaherty: "We don't have any kids and, God willing, we never will. It is a bitter thing to say, but the Lord knows we can't afford them."

The official statistics bear out the claim. A 1994 Statistics Canada survey showed that some annual fishing incomes were as low as \$4,000. Indeed, many Ochre Pit Cove families will carefully save a little money from each employment check this winter in preparation for next spring. That might not be necessary, some fishermen contend, if they could fish for a full season. "If I could tie up to that wharf from April to November instead of just June to September," said Mike Ikegas, a father of three in the hamlet of Gull Island, "he would go a long way to helping us make ends meet."

At the heart of the controversy



Layman: "Fishing is in our blood"

is the question of adequate federal allocations for Newfoundland's fishing facilities. The province's 1,900 wharves, slips, piers, breakwaters and mooring facilities demand continual maintenance—all on a total budget of \$9 million from the federal government. And according to fisheries department spokesman Adrian Hynes, money for a new breakwater at Ochre Pit Cove will not be available before the 1998-1999 construction season. But an unconvinced Layman claims that the response is a result of skewed priorities. "Instead of building safe harbors," he complained, "Small Craft Harbours is spending millions building marinas for pleasure boats in Ontario." In fact, federal figures show a 1995 allocation of \$3.4 million for recreational facilities alone in Ontario.

But even in the face of adversity, the communities' residents retain a sense of humor. Along the road a sign reads, "Drive slowly, we have no undertaker." And on the wharf, fishermen indulge in a popular pastime: talking about winning a lottery. Still, for some even a million-dollar windfall may not be enough to keep them from the sea. Just one disclaimer: "I suppose I would have to see it to keep going as the fish would be all gone."

—CATHY WHITE in Ochre Pit Cove

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and attack a leaked copy of the government's proposed equal pay-for-work-of-equal-value legislation for its short-circuiting—specifically the bill's imposition of only voluntary guidelines until 1992. By the time he returned, the war had stolen the spotlight.

As well, some older Tories are clearly frustrated with their opposition role. According to party sources, at least 39 Conservative incumbents are considering not running in the next election. Not Bruce McCaffrey, former attorney and cabinet minister, has already announced his intention to re-join. Said McCaffrey: "One of the key reasons I was attracted to public life was the desire to affect public policy. That just is not happening anymore." Still, McCaffrey and other Conservative MPs give Grossman credit for mending party divisions. And although some caucus members point out that there is confusion about what the party stands for, others add that the search for definition may in itself be a positive force. Said McCaffrey: "We now have the time to find our roots."

But as some provincial Tories admit, the party has yet to develop concrete policies to attract voters. Said one senior party member: "Why would anybody switch their vote? There is no dissatisfaction with Peterson and as yet the Tories have not given a reason." But it may be too soon after the party's fall from power to expect a polished platform. Said University of Toronto political scientist Stephen Clarkson: "For almost 40 years their strategy was to run the government with as little definition as possible. It is bound to take time to give the party a new vision."

Meanwhile, Grossman has made campaign organization a top priority. After Miller's ill-fated decision to fight the last election without the help of the backbone political operators known as the "Big Blue Machine," Grossman called on John Tory, David's former principal secretary, to help find candidates to run in the next election—with an emphasis on women. Some Tories are pessimistic about their chances. Said former environmental minister Macley Kell, who lost his seat in 1985 and is working to secure a nomination: "We will be lucky to retain the seats we have now. The key question is, at whose expense do the Liberals form a majority government?" Grossman counters that "the prevailing mood is clearly not for us," but he correctly notes that the Conservatives are only 32 seats short of forming a majority. And for the Tory leader, winning those seats clearly seems a formidable obstacle.

—SHERI KNEVELAND in Toronto

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Q&A: DEBBIE DRILL

A high-jumping life

*High jumper Debbie Drill has been one of Canada's highest-profile athletes since she won her first gold medal at 16 in the 1968 Pan Pacific Games in Tokyo. Drill went on to set athletes records—only six months after the birth of her son, Neil, she broke the world indoor record with a 1.95-m jump at the 1982 Edmonton Journal Games. Drill became known in the 1960s for a distinctive jump style called the "Drill Bend," in which she crouched backward over the crossbar. But she has also been celebrated—and sometimes reviled—for her unconventional lifestyle, which has been marked by experiments with drugs and her decision to live as a single mother. This fall Drill, who often visits her son on a houseboat in Richmond, B.C., reveals a side we rarely see: the publication of her autobiography, *Jump*, with journalist James Lonzo. Along with a frank look at her early years of training, the book captures her relationships—including her long-distance one with musician Greg Kinnear's father—and her problems coping with the competitive nature of athletics. She speaks candidly with Maclean's correspondent Patrick Hickey.*

Maclean's: What do you think your atti-

tude will be when you're 50-year-old and reaches the age when he might be tempted to experiment with drugs?

Drill: I am not going to say, "Here, try this" to Neil, but I know that it is essential that he is going to be comfortable not only with drugs but also with alcohol and tobacco. He will have to make decisions on whether to use them, but I hope I can provide him with the necessary education to make the right choices. We have to let people know that there are dangers along with the thrill.

Maclean's: Otto Jivonen, Canada's minister of state for fitness and sport, has

asked Drill to write when you're 50-year-old and reaches the age when he might be tempted to experiment with drugs?

Drill: I am not going to say, "Here, try this" to Neil, but I know that it is essential that he is going to be comfortable not only with drugs but also with alcohol and tobacco. He will have to make decisions on whether to use them, but I hope I can provide him with the necessary education to make the right choices. We have to let people know that there are dangers along with the thrill.

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Maclean's: What prompted you to write the book?

Drill: Before I even thought about it, some people in Los Angeles approached me about making a movie about my life. They wanted us on a couple of scripts, but I hated them—they were so contrived, so trite. I talked about a similar project with some friends, but nothing came of it. But I realized there were things I wanted to say. Later I was being interviewed by James Lonzo for a magazine article. We had a long lunch, which ended up with both of us drunk drunk. But we had discussed doing a book, and it was obvious we could work together.

Maclean's: What were some of those when you wanted to express?

Drill: I think the most important thing I wanted to do was dispel the myth that athletes are some kind of heroes. I did not want to write a sports book; I wanted to write an honest, straightforward book in which people could see that I had had some success as an athlete, but I am still a human being with the same problems and the same concerns as many of my contemporaries. Too often, athletes are viewed as being larger than life. It is wrong to think that this person is something special.

Maclean's: One of the controversial areas of the book is your discussion of recreational drugs and your experiences



Fabulous.

declared war against the use of steroids by athletes wanting to enhance their performance. Do you have reservations about his policy?

Q&A: There are two questions that have to be addressed. I think the insistence on drug testing is an incredible infringement on an athlete's rights. I think it is wrong that the government says, 'We are going to cut off your support unless you deliver a urine sample on demand.' You have to remember that steroids may be prescribed by a doctor, but I would like to see an end to steroid use in sports because I think it is a potentially dangerous. But it is a problem that will require the co-operation of all athletes, particularly in the Eastern Bloc, where athletes are forced to use steroids... another infringement of the athlete's rights.

Maclean's: Governments now support athletes financially, but they seem to demand some control in return. Is this good or bad?

Q&A: Dealing with the question of financial support, I think the situation is better now than when I started, young. I got \$600 a month from Ottawa, and I have opportunities to make money through sponsors and endorsements. It is possible for athletes to devote themselves full-time to sports—to develop and mature, whereas 10 or 15 years ago they might have quit. The downside is that the money sometimes becomes more important than the sport. People are not involved in sports because they love it, they are in it for the money. The national governments continue to sponsor. We see it in drug testing; we see it in the boycott of the Olympics in Moscow and we almost see it again this past summer in Edinburgh, when there was talk of Canada pulling out of the Commonwealth Games over the South African question. I have a political conscience, but it bothers me that athletes are asked to make sacrifices while governments go on talking, businessmen go on making deals and artists go on performing.

Maclean's: How have been competing internationally for 20 years now. Is there an end in sight?

Q&A: I would like to compete through the 1996 Summer Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, and then I will retire. I feel good about jumping now because I think I am healthier than I have been in several years. And I have a different attitude because I know my career will be over soon and there are other things in my life outside of athletics.

Maclean's: Have you given any thought to a new career?

Q&A: There are several things I might try. When I was working on the book I discovered that I enjoy writing, and I might pursue that. I have also thought that I might want another child, maybe one. I just do not think one is enough. ☐

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Canada's northern light

Wind whipped the faces of the five university graduates stranded along the barren and icy coast of Southampton Island near the Arctic Circle. It was 1898, and 32-year-old archaeologist Graham Warwick Rowley, fresh out of Cambridge University, was on his first scientific expedition to the Canadian North. His party's 30-foot whaler had drifted shoreward, crippled by a stalled motor. As foaming waves threatened to crush them, a solitary native on a hunting expedition noticed their plight, stepped and fired the motor. That gesture signalled the beginning of Rowley's 50-year passion for the Canadian North and respect for its people. Now 74, the national Arctic expert and explorer still fondly remembers his first encounter with the Inuit. "They were so thoughtful," he recalled. "In civilized man's faith in human nature."



Rowley's passion for the North and respect for its people

Rowley's early adventures in the Arctic, at a time of growing interest in the North, launched him on a career that eventually brought him to Canada permanently. During the late 1930s he spent his summers uncovering new archaeological evidence of the

northern natives who predates the Inuit and who are remembered in Inuit oral history for their bright and peaceful behavior. During the winters he explored far into the largely uncharted interior of Baffin Island.

As a result, maps of the area now bear a lasting testament to the explorer Rowley knew and Rowley himself. But the star-bellied and downy Rowley downplays his achievements. And although he deals with painful clarity the relocation of northern towns by dogged in dangerous weather, he assumes the hardships. "One felt really an imposter," Rowley said. "It was so safe—if one relied on the Inuit to get you to where you wanted to go."

Rowley's years of travel and work among the Inuit gave him an intimate understanding of northern life. After seven years of service with the Canadian Armed Forces—he enlisted at the start of the Second World War—Rowley entered the federal civil service in 1946 as Ottawa's top northern scientific adviser, a job he held until his retirement from the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 11 years ago. During that time, he helped Inuit villages adapt to increasing modernization. Said Walter Rudnicki, a retired senior policy adviser who worked with Rowley in the 1950s and 1960s: "I had the impression that he would have preferred to leave things as they were. He did not see that encroachments from the south were of any great benefit to the people."

Rowley still continues to be active in his field. A professor at Ottawa's Carleton University, he supervises its northern studies program, lectures to well-focused adventurers preparing for polar expeditions and—on a more serious note—remains active in his championship of native rights. Rowley and his wife, Thana, a geographer, frequently play host to students and old Inuit friends at their fieldstone home in Ottawa's upscale Rockcliffe Park. Of the Inuit, Rowley said, "It is a question of surviving in an ever more difficult environment now." But the future, he says, is full of hope. "I'm much more optimistic now than I was 10 years ago," he declared, "because the Inuit are so resilient. I think they are learning how to meet change."

—DAVID LORIN in Ottawa

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Champion of the weak

It was July, 2000. On Toronto's Yorkville Avenue, then the heart of the city's 1960s counterculture, police tried to disperse the dozens of young demonstrators who had gathered to protest a two-year prison sentence imposed by a U.S. court on pediatrician and author Dr. Benjamin Spock for his anti-Vietnam War efforts in assisting draft dodgers. Toronto writer Jane Calwood approached the ragtag band of activists and hippies to advise them of procedures for being police brutally charged. A short while later, Calwood, now 65, found herself charged with impeding the police and sitting in a police department holding cell whose walls were smeared with excrement. Recalled Calwood, who only two years earlier had helped found the Canadian Civil Liberties Association: "I cried and cried. I thought it was shameful."

The charges against her were dismissed. And Calwood's attempt to champion civil rights only enhanced her burgeoning reputation as a social activist and crusading journalist. She even turned her short stay behind bars into a



Calwood 'she leads the rest of us'

comic nine years later, after she helped prove in a letter-writing campaign that germs of Toronto's scandalous 1940s failed to meet city health and fire safety standards, authorities closed the oldest section of the institution. Now, in Calwood's brightly lit office at her home hangs the six-inch-long key to the jail's front door, a testament to her tireless activism. During her prolific 40-year freelance writing career, she has ghost-written autobiographies, produced thousands of magazines and newspaper articles—including some for *National*—and now writes a regular column for the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. She has also written 22 books, the latest of which was published earlier this year: "Jane Calwood leads by example," said longtime friend Barbara Press, host of CBC's *The Journal*. "She is so tough on herself in everything she does that she leads the rest of us."

Calwood's latest project is the organization of what she hopes will be the first league in Canada for sufferers of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Experts say that Toronto has about 180 AIDS patients—more than any other city in the country. In September, 2005, Calwood organized a committee to begin planning for the league. Soon after, that organization became a subcommittee of the AIDS Committee of Toronto, a community-based organization of volunteers that includes medical experts and social workers. So far, the subcommittee has raised more than \$150,000 and is trying to buy a spacious building in downtown Toronto. But Calwood acknowledges that in this case raising funds has been difficult—largely because of the stigma attached to AIDS. "Corporations that always feed what I do," she said, "don't want to donate to this cause."

Such difficulties have not deterred her in the past. Two years before her 2000 arrest, she founded Yorkville's Dagger House, a shelter for homeless young people, because she said, "they reminded me of the transients who knocked at our back door"—a Depression-era reference to her home town of Belle River, Ont., near Windsor. In 2004 Calwood helped found Nellie's, a shelter for women in crisis, in a large old stone and-brick house in east-end Toronto. In 1970 she started Justice for Children, an advocacy group which works for children's legal rights. And in 1982 she founded Justice, a downtown centre for teenage parents. "All the things I have storied are the first of their kind in Canada," said Calwood. "That makes it difficult for governments to respond—there are no guidelines, no funding or supervisory mechanisms, no standards."

Still, the Calwood name can lead



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efforts to almost any project. Bess Laskin, for one, the late chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, co-operated with the work of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. And as a founding member of 22 organizations, Calwood has also learned where to find the talent and professional advice necessary to turn ideas into concrete projects. "I've had to spend in time," she said. "They run the banks and the foundations." But she has also known formidable obstacles. In 1982, discouraged by the lack of financial support for Jett's, she decided to appeal to wealthy women, thinking that they might feel more sympathy for the plight of premature young girls. After sending out 206 letters, she received only \$25—and several messages asking her not to call again. Recalled Calwood: "I was deeply disappointed. Having money must be as isolating from reality that there is just no way those women can relate to a pregnant teenager living in deprivation in a boarding house."

Other disappointments have also dimmed Calwood's sense of joy. For one thing, she says that her strong opposition to censorship has strained—on even several—some longtime friendships with feminist colleagues who support tough anti pornography laws, including Globe and Mail columnist

Michelle Landberg and former *Chatelaine* editor Dora Anderson. After she attacked prominent feminist and former Liberal party adviser Maude Barlow's pro-censorship position in a column, Calwood recalls, she found herself "isolated and shunned" by her former allies. Still, she says, too many Canadians are willing to surrender their rights, and she adds: "Pornography is simply a reflection of women being debased and being in contempt. It is only a symptom."

Meanwhile, the woman who has weathered so many storms still struggles to cope with a deeper, more devastating tragedy. In April, 1992, her 20-year-old son, Corey, was killed when his motorcycle was hit by a car travelling on the wrong side of the highway. Now, although Calwood's 43-year marriage to Toronto sports columnist Trent Frayne remains a strong and supportive partnership, her grief is an overwhelming force in her life.

Her son's ashes are buried under the apple tree in the shady garden where he used to climb and play, just outside the window of Calwood's office in the rambling green house where the Fraynes have lived for 24 years. Her three children often come home with their families, and in an effort to "re-mind myself that life goes on," Calwood has propped a picture of her four

grandchildren in her office window ledge. But, she said, "It is a constant struggle to be keep coming to make sure that I don't fall down a hole. If I keep going, I don't fall apart."

During her 40 years of freelance writing, Calwood has never held a full-time job. All of her work has been on contract—from ghostwriting the autobiography of film director Orson Welles; Dr. Martin W. Pines, son of the co-founder of the Mayo Clinic, and U.S. television personality Barbara Walters, to her Globe and Mail columns. But she has been named an officer of the Order of Canada, as well as being inducted into the Canadian Hall of Fame. She is also the secretary of the Canadian English-speaking section of PEN, an international organization of writers, which works on behalf of prisoners of conscience around the world. Calwood continues to shun off the many critics from whatever public officials happened to be in a talkative mood that day. The minister of agriculture was not available, but the minister of science and technology was. He said that the government was unlikely to take a position as a no-headed cabbage one way or the other.

On network television, the farmer was linked by satellite with a farmer from the Soviet Union and with the Washington correspondent for a British newspaper, who didn't say anything about cabbages but spoke enthusiastically anyway. As for network radio, the radio producer was out when the radio telephoned, but his wife got an interview.

"How does your husband feel about this?" the radio asked, and when she said that her husband was out, the radio asked her how she felt, then. She said that she felt fine and only wished that her husband was around to answer all these questions. She and her husband were out being interviewed by a magazine, which she didn't name, for a cover story tentatively entitled "Those crazy vegetables."

Network radio also telephoned an Irish girl and got the reactions of everyone there.

D began to feel the stirrings that would lead him to give up information. His local newspaper prepared a series on strange vegetables in the immediate area and quoted local professors on what might be responsible for two-headed cabbages not being grown around there. The professors refused to be drawn into proferring when the area might have its first two-headed cabbage. "That would depend on a lot of things," one professor said.

Local television interviewed education experts about whether diseases in the schools about two-headed

COLUMN

The man who knew too much

By Charles Gordon

Two years ago D. decided to live without information. Although friends still question his decision, he is convinced that he made the right one. D. (not his real initials) decided to do without information during the week of the two-headed cabbage. You remember it. An amateur professor or great, a two-headed cabbage, it was a great scandal to the local newspaper office. A picture was taken, a story published and the normal information process began.

The wire services picked up the two-headed cabbage story and added comments from whatever public officials happened to be in a talkative mood that day. The minister of agriculture was not available, but the minister of science and technology was. He said that the government was unlikely to take a position as a no-headed cabbage one way or the other.

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Local television interviewed education experts about whether diseases in the schools about two-headed

cabbages would upset students unnecessarily or whether students in the upper grades could handle it. The question of drugs in the schools, as it related to two-headed cabbages, was raised. The local morning show interviewed psychiatrists who said that there was no need to be alarmed. "Are you sure?" the morning-show host asked. A psychiatrist said that you could never be 100 per cent sure about anything. D. turned off his radio.

When he told people that he had stopped listening to radio morning shows, stopped watching television public-affairs programs, stopped reading newspapers and magazines, his friends were appalled. "How will you keep up?" they asked him. D. said there was nothing to keep up with, just a lot of information about nothing. "You don't understand," D's friends said. "This is an information society."

He had to be careful at check-out counters to keep from reading headlines about Martian diets and the newest diseases

Pretty soon 70 per cent of all jobs will be in the information field. D. said that he thought that he liked it better when everybody was drawing wood and hewing water, or however that was. "Well, then," and D's friends, delivering the cliché, "If you don't read the newspaper, how will you know what's on TV?" D. said that he would figure that out by turning on the TV. And when his friends said that he would never, using that method, be able to plan ahead to watch the public-affairs shows, D. just smiled.

Life without information went fairly well. D. found that he had to be careful at the supermarket check-out counter to keep from reading headlines about Martian diets and the newest diseases of soap-operas stars. But he was able to stall when his friends told him about the latest developments in the information field. "They've got access-to-information laws now," D's friends said. "The government has to cough up all kinds of terrible stuff. Yesterday the newspaper said... complete dental records of former ministers of education. There was a great fun. Television interviewed a couple of former

dentists, and radio had a live interview with some people in an Irish pub."

D said that was nice and went back to his house, where he lived in more or less the same way he had before he gave up information. Talking to people, he found that in giving up information he had joined a group that was larger than he had thought. Many people had given up information, some of them in their own ways. There were people who did not know that the Beatles had broken up. There were people who did not know that The Beatles had formed. There were people who did not know about astronaut, videotape, Grace Jones,裸体艺术 and the cruise before that. They seemed to be getting on all right.

There were people who did not know that disco was dead or even that disco had been born. There were people who were wide like and did not know about the end of the world and the end of the world. The move away from parks and back to earth cities had changed the attention of many; many others had missed the earlier move to parks. These people, when they wanted to read their walls, just wanted to read what they liked, apparently.

D's self-imposed abstinence from information caused him to miss several close calls for the government of the day and the leaders of the other parties. Frequently it appeared that the government was about to fragment in internal dissension. Meanwhile, the other parties were concerned with becoming that threatened to explode and dissolve the entire fabric of party unity. Or so it was explained.

It was only by the way, by luck, that the parties and their leaders survived. D. was unaware of that, as he was unaware of the aerobic self-helping fad. That was the one where young adults swimmers had lots of fun making self-helping fads, falling onto the specially imported sand and trying to fit up computerized selves before the bar closed.

People said that the best thing about aerobic self-helping was the marvelous look of the self-helping outfit: everybody was wearing it. But D. didn't know about that. Unwillingly and naturally happy, he went off to his place of work five days a week, leaving his radio on at home, where the sound of information might frighten off potential burglars.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.



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TURNER'S BIG TEST

CANADA/COVER

During 11 years as a Liberal cabinet minister, Marc Lalonde ruthlessly suppressed any hint of disloyalty to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. But last week, after two years in private practice as a Montreal lawyer, Lalonde was back in the public

spotlight with an astounding message for party members: With the same icy detachment that once silenced backbenchers, Lalonde told a Montreal news conference that the 3,500 delegates to the party's Nov 27-30 general meeting in Ottawa should vote for a leadership contest to replace Liberal leader John Turner. The former Quebec attorney argued that a political party exists to exercise power—and that Turner cannot, with the next general election. "Under John Turner, the result will once again relegate Liberals to the opposition benches," Lalonde declared. "The future of the Liberal party is in serious question."

Contrary Lalonde's tough-minded message provoked a controversy that shook the very foundations of the Liberal party. Ontario Premier David Peterson promptly denounced both Lalonde's message and his method. "It is very much contrary to the best interests of the party," he said. Senator Laura Mordant, former head of the party's policy committee, countered that Turner had done little to develop new policies for the Liberals. Sen. Mordant: "I am sitting up for revenge because I have not seen his vision of the economy."

As the week progressed, more Liberals stalked out positions for or against



Lalonde's denunciation

Turner. Then, in an unusual public spectacle, they confronted their opponents in shouting tones rarely heard within the Liberals' once-disfranchised ranks. By week's end, there were still no clear winners and losers in the bitter tug of war over Turner's leadership. But many thoughtful Liberals warned that, whatever the outcome of the contest, the party itself was already a loser. As one senior party member told Maclean's: "I have been around 30 years, and I cannot read the party. The institution is bending down—the politicians are almost out of control."

Pray. Although Turner was privately concerned by Lalonde's denunciation, he put on a brave—and dignified—front. At a news conference in his Vancouver constituency office, the Liberal leader asserted that he will carry

out "I'll have looked back (image of acceptance) that drives right to the point that Canadians, with good reason, have been trying to get rid of for a number of years." Genuinely misanthropic. Added Quebec MP Jean Lapierre, Turner's national campaign coordinator: "Lalonde was writing that up. He [said] the Pope giving an order. He might have some influence in the old boys' network, but I don't see anything substantial."

Still, Lalonde's icy logic and ruthless pragmatism clearly unsettled his opponents. In a four-page letter that Lalonde himself drafted in French and English, the former finance minister first praised Turner for his integrity, his dignity in defeat and his hard work. But then he dispassionately noted that the Canadian public does not share his opinion of Turner's vision. A series of polls, he pointed out, have shown Turner trailing Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and New Democratic Party Leader J.M. Broadbent in personal popularity. And he warned that, although the Conservatives are sliding in the public opinion polls, "it is the star, not the Liberals, who are missing national momentum" (page 30). The Liberals are in danger because their leader is unpopular, Lalonde reasoned, as a result, a call for a review "just makes good political sense."

But Lalonde also created an intriguing political mystery. Party insiders say that he did not want to leave the impression that he was encouraging Turner simply to promote former leadership contender Jean Charest. Nor did he want delegates to believe that their choice was restricted to Turner or Charest. In his letter Lalonde said, "I know for sure that at least one more person will run." Although he refused to identify that prospective candidate, Maclean's has learned that it is Paul Martin Jr., president of the Cdn. Group in Montreal and son of former Liberal cabinet minister Paul Martin.

Norval Martin, 48, has confided to friends that he would prefer to sit out experience in Parliament and build a wider base of party support before he runs for the leadership. And he is also working hard to shore up support for Turner. But Martin has advocated to those friends that if there is a leadership contest, he will run. But one Martin confidant: "He would honestly prefer not to go now. But if there is a convention called, I will join the contest day in Montreal to plan his campaign, to try to keep up with the Clinton team as delegates select meetings begin." Martin himself told Maclean's last week, "I am behind John Turner 100 per cent."

Lalonde's statement was the opening salvo in a political tennis match that had pre- and subterranean forces colliding furiously. First, Mulroney called for a

review. Then, Toronto MP John Naisbitt said that he was reconsidering his support for Turner. "Marc Lalonde is a very influential and respectable man, and for anyone to discuss his influence is crazy. He is certainly influencing my thinking." In turn, Montreal lawyer Michel Séguin, who accuses the party's pro-Clayton Eastwood, said that if Turner received less than 50 per cent of the dele-

gated mandate for an interview. Meanwhile, Montreal's *La Presse* reported that the party's corporate fund-raiser, Senator Len Robson, was poised to resign after the Ottawa convention. According to *La Presse*, Robson found it difficult to raise funds while Turner was leader. Robson's executive assistant, Rick Metcalfe, promptly denied that the senator had any intention of resigning.

Maclean's was able to confirm that Robson has complained repeatedly to many Liberals about his disenfranchisement. Turner, Robson has told friends, did not give him enough authority or support—and did not use corporate fund-raising as effectively as he. Said one senior Liberal: "Len is a very direct and abrupt man—and he is just as hot up and disappointed."

At the same time, the pro-reform forces did not welcome any of their principal public voice revert against Turner by members of the Liberal caucus in the House of Commons. Throughout the week, Christian supporters—and occasionally Christian himself—quietly sounded out such caucus members as Charles Caccia and Donald Johnston. Members of the anti-Turner faction apparently hoped that at least four MPs—Johnston, Caccia, Naisbitt and Metcalfe or David Berger—would call for a review this week. Johnston, himself a former leadership contender, has disagreed sharply with Turner over key policy issues, including plans for changing the Constitution. But he has not opposed Turner's leadership, and he refused to join any caucus coup. With that, the attempt to create a major revolt failed.

Formidable: In fact, the anti-reform forces marshaled a formidable series of endorsements backing up to the convention. Senator Allan Rock, a veteran of numerous senior cabinet posts, supported Turner's continued leadership late in the week. And at a series of news conferences this week, prominent women in the party, young reformers and other former members will also support Turner. And there will be "Friends of John Turner" rallies in Edmonton and Ottawa.

The Turner forces were also boosted by a Gallup poll last week—and by their own private surveys of delegates. The Gallup showed that 59 per cent of delegates voted support the Liberals, 11



Turner with wife, Gail, in Vancouver, a bitter tug of war over his leadership

per cent support. "He maybe should then request the national executive to call a leadership convention." Although Robert A. Turner supporter, his statement contradicted the contention of the Turner forces that he needs only 50 per cent of the vote, plus one, to keep his job. Officials in Turner's office refused

Senior Liberals insisted that Robson will present Turner with a \$1-million cheque at the convention—to help retire the party's \$5.5-million debt. The report about Robson's resignation, charged Liberal caucus chairman Doug Frost, was part of a disinformation campaign waged by Turner's foes.

per cent back the Tories and 25 per cent support the NDP.

At the same time, Turner's chief anglophone confidant, anglophone, Barry Popovich, claimed that support for the leader sagged from a low of 39 per cent in Metro Toronto to a high of more than 90 per cent in Saskatchewan. Only Newfoundland delinquents, he said, may split—half for a leadership review and half against. Popovich also claimed that 46 per cent of the elected delegates in Ontario and Quebec would be first-runners without allegiance to such former party power brokers as Lalonde. "There are a lot of people who did not want to see us turning back the clock and letting a few backroom boys run the party again," Popovich maintained. Added another key organizer, "One of the reasons Lalonde wants in is not because he's afraid Turner is going to lose. He's afraid Turner is going to win. The game is power. The game is to be in, and they don't think they are going to be in with Turner."

Siphoned: The seeds of Lalonde's break with Turner were planted during the last election. Earlier, during the leadership convention in the spring of 1984, Lalonde siphoned a large block of Quebec delegates away from Chretien and delivered them to Turner, ensuring his victory. Lalonde close to Lalonde said that he remembered Turner as the dubious B-nance minister from 1972 to 1975, the man who impressed meetings of the International Monetary Fund and who maintained close friendships with George Shultz, now the U.S. secretary of state, and other major international figures. Meanwhile, Lalonde held an ill-considered disdain for Chretien's intellectual capacity.

But Lalonde's high opinion of Turner began to waver during the ensuing election campaign. He did not believe that Turner could make a tough decision—and stick to it. By the middle of July, 1984, he was confiding to friends that Turner had "ideas in." Lalonde was so concerned about Turner's campaign that, at one point, uninvited colleagues sponsored him at a subway station handing out pamphlets for his successor, Lucien Bouchard. "He never campaigned in a

subway before," marvelled a senior Liberal who said that he sensed that Lalonde was worried and angry.

But Lalonde kept his doubts to himself in the wake of that disastrous election, which reduced the Liberals to just 41 seats in the Commons, a group close to former party straight Darcy Hughes

no longer play an active role in politics. He liked Hughes—but discarded his tendency to operate secretly in back rooms. And he doubted whether he had the desire—or the charisma—to be the party leader. Ultimately, Lalonde decided that he would not run if a convention were held.

Then, last spring the tensions between Turner and Lalonde deepened dramatically. Lalonde supported former cabinet minister Francis Fox as president of the Quebec wing of the Liberal party. Turner preferred legislator Paul Heston, a Quebec City lawyer—and he asked Fox to withdraw. Fox obliged, but the battle lines were drawn.

Strong: At the same time, party strategists received a harrowing report from pollster Martin Goldfarb. Results of detailed soundings in 100 ridings targeted by the Liberals as possible gains in the next election revealed that three out of every five seats could go to the NDP or the Tories. Goldfarb's survey indicated that although some Toronto ridings would probably swing back from the Conservatives to the Liberals, many Ontario ridings, including the Thunder Bay and Windsor areas, would likely stay in opposition

hands. And the reason, Goldfarb disclosed, was that many voters in the Liberal's classic constituency—middle-class and ethnic voters—did not believe that the privileged Turner could represent their concerns. But one senior Liberal strategist: "Those who were privy to that string that, including Keith Dewar, were devastated."

Reacting from the exclusion from power and convinced that Turner was the wrong man for the party, Dewar began looking for a replacement. His group began to consider a plan to promote an Ayman-Bur-Turner campaign leading up to the convention. If it were not to be deflected at the last moment, they intended to try to lure Pierre Trudeau out of retirement to lead the per-

looking for a successor to Turner. The Dewar group reasoned that Turner was pulling the party to the right, away from its traditional roots. And they plainly missed the power that they once exercised. Members approached Lalonde, arguing that he alone could save the party. They also appealed to his strong belief that the party maintain its tradition of alternating francophone and anglophone leaders. For a brief period, Lalonde himself fought with the status of a poor. Prospective campaign workers were approached with vague offers.

Charisma: But when Lalonde joined the Montreal office of the Stikine, Elton was first in 1984, he had promised senior partner Howard Stikine that he would



David and Shirley Peterson; Marie (below) intriguing political mystery



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ty into the next election, expected in 1998. Under their plan, the former prime minister would tell voters that he would remain for only two years. Then he would resign and open the way for a leadership convention. The Dany group hoped that Trudeau's former principal secretary, Thomas A. Stewart, would then replace him.

Backlash: The plan backfired. To coincide with the launch of his political memoirs, the flamboyant Dany hinted broadly that Turner had failed as Liberal leader. Party loyalists were aghast at that rare public display of internal party problems. Many of them said that the Liberal party was stirring to resemble the Conservative party, which has often been torn by bitter and leadership struggles. Many Liberals also were disillusioned by Dany's plan to have Trudeau back. The swirling backlash helped Turner immensely. Dany denied the very existence of the plan, and Trudeau himself simply laughed off Dany's doubts.

While Dany's plans were being thwarted, Lalonde was considering his options. Maclean's has confirmed that within the past few weeks he met Chretien to discuss the party leadership. He also shared his concerns with Dany, who cautioned election campaigns with him throughout the Trudeau years. And he confided to friends that, because of current trends, he feared that the vote would win 80 seats in the next election. But Lalonde was still undecided until Raymond Gernsheim backed out at what he called "old-style politicking." That, Lalonde's friends say, was the final push.

Swelling: Two weeks before last week's announcement, Turner loyalists heard that Lalonde was contemplating a public statement. They hurriedly arranged for them to have dinner at Stornoway, the opposition leader's residence. It was Lady Stornoway who told Maclean's that



Turner's official residence, Stornoway: Lalonde's statement is 'one man's opinion'

Turner's wife, Gail, was nothing about the cabals against her husband—and her anger may have been evident. Another key Turner supporter claimed that Lalonde simply resented Gail's presence. "Lalonde has a macho streak, and he thinks that politics is a man's game." At the end of the dinner, Turner pointedly asked Lalonde if he was supporting him. Lalonde told Maclean's last week: "I said that I had been living deep under the same for several nights and had agreed over it. I told him that I was unde-

cided." Less than a week later, 24 hours before Lalonde announced his position, both Turner and Chretien received copies of his letter.

Whatever the outcome, next week's convention will be a major test for Lalonde. Lalonde's statement has forced many to take a hard look at their own motives and ask themselves tough questions. Among them: Must leaders be winners, first and foremost? Does a political party want simply to exercise power? As well, many remember when Lalonde, Dany and Trudeau gave them the sweet taste of victory. They are usually aware that the party is torn between those forces of the past, now tarnished, and their struggling successors. In the end, their deepest problem may be that it is difficult to decide what constitutes a winner. As Turner supporter and campaign co-chairman Senator Michael Kirby noted last week: "Nobody thought that Lester Pearson was a winner—he would have lost a review vote—but he went on to become a superb prime minister."

Dany (left) with Lalonde at book launch—Dany right to govern



—MARY JANDANE with
JENNIFER WALLACE and
JAN VAN DUSEN in Montreal,
HELENE MACGREGOR, PAUL
GREGORY, and MARILYN
DREHAN in Ottawa and JAMES
O'HARA in Vancouver

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THE NDP'S ALL-TIME HIGH

COVER

The damning letter contained only six short paragraphs, but it mentioned the New Democratic Party three times. Five politicians, including Quebec Senator Pierre De Bessé, signed their names last week under the leadership of "Review 86," a group that is trying to explain to party members why they should re-elect John Turner as leader. Three times they cited what they called Turner's failure to "save all of the NDP." Turner's ability to win left-of-centre votes for the Liberals was a major issue during the 1984 leadership campaign, which he won against Jean Chrétien. Now, as the party prepares to decide whether to call for a new leadership convention, it has come back to haunt Turner. "These are tough times for Liberals," said the De Bessé group. "Our position as the party of reform has been threatened by the NDP."

Damage: In fact, the NDP is at an all-time high in opinion polls. According to the latest Gallup poll, released last week, the party was supported from 29 per cent of decided voters across the country. In Bessé, Senator Keith Davey and other Turner foes say that the party needs a more left-leaning leader to prevent the NDP from winning traditionally Liberal seats in the next federal election. Although some political observers say that the NDP's strength is temporary, others see signs of a more permanent realignment of political allegiances that could seriously hurt the Liberals—now in Quebec, which has never elected a New Democrat to Ottawa. Whatever the case, many Liberals voice concerns that continued squabbling over Turner's leadership will seriously damage their party and help the NDP. Bessé, Eric Korman, a former Liberal minister in both Ottawa and Quebec: "Why should the Canadian people trust a party of backstabbers?"

But as the Ottawa convention drew closer last week, more and more of Turner's Liberal critics were making their views public—and the NDP threat was one of their most powerful weapons. Marc Lalonde, the former Liberal minister who was Pierre Trudeau's Quebec co-ordinator, took to the air while in the latter's seat to question delegates to persuade them to vote against Turner.

Wrote Lalonde: "We now face a situation where the NDP not only has a popular leader but where its support is spreading rapidly across the country. In Quebec, for the first time in history, the NDP leads the Conservative party across the province and it is close on the heels



Broadbent threatening the Liberals' position

of the Liberals in many regions."

The NDP's newfound strength in Quebec is largely responsible for the party's high standing nationally. Traditionally, the party has fared badly in Quebec, now, regularly drawing the support of desperate voters across the province, its national totals are soaring. But political observers do not agree on

how or why the NDP has attracted that support—and whether the party can hold on to it.

John Harney, the NDP's Quebec leader, says that his party is up in the polls because it is making its first genuine effort since the 1960s to make itself and its policies known to Quebecers. He rejects the widely held theory that disenchanted members of the Parti Québécois are flocking to the NDP and temporarily swelling its membership. Harney says that his supporters are "essentially people who are looking for, and are finding, a social democratic option in the Canadian scene." But Harney acknowledges that the NDP is doing well at least partly because the other two major parties are doing badly. "We'll take that," he said. "My wife worried me because the other guy wasn't available. So I'm happy."

Jean-Luc Pepin, a former Liberal minister now teaching political science at the University of Ottawa, has another theory. Quebec voters, he says, are very sophisticated and are parking their votes temporarily with the NDP in order to pressure the Liberals and Turner to pay more attention to them. "Quebec is bargaining," said Pepin, adding that Western Canadians must be making "flow some these God damned franchises on the whole of the country on their face and we can't!"

Naughty: During a lecture last week to his political science class, Pepin dismissed the NDP's current support as a temporary phenomenon. "The history of the NDP, of the socialist movement in Canada, is a history of ups and downs," he said. "And as some naughty fellow said recently, the ups are mostly between elections." But other prominent Liberals—including some Turner critics—are not nearly so sanguine. The NDP, they contend, might well keep its current support until the next election, and badly hurt the Liberals. Said Davey: "Anybody who doesn't get the emphasis on the NDP threat doesn't understand what is happening in Canada."

Many federal New Democrats concede that their high standing owes more to disaffected voters than to their own successes. "We're not doing anything differently," said NDP House Lead-

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Turner: People are finding a social democratic option as the Competition grows

or Nelson Rink. "Ed Broadbent continues to ask the same types of questions and offer the same types of solutions." That consistency was on display again last week. While the Liberals were drawn deeper into their increasingly bitter internal struggle, Broadbent attracted headlines after distributing government memos which suggested that Canadian negotiators might make the Auto Pact part of free trade talks with the United States.

Turning: For his part, chief Canadian negotiator Simon Benmouna angrily accused Broadbent of endangering the talks. "The political people would be well advised—I'm thinking of Mr. Broadbent here—not to meddle," Benmouna said. "Try to get out, and they may well be hurting most the people they think they're helping." But the controversy allowed the NDP to speak out strongly for protecting thousands of well-paying jobs in Canada's auto industry—at a time when the Liberals have yet to define a position on free trade. Broadbent has his own rationale for the NDP's popular surge. Many Liberals, he says, may be seeking a new leader because Turner cannot shake his right-wing, pro-business image.

Because much of its newfound support is in Quebec, some observers say that the key to the NDP's future lies there. Desmond Murray, a University of Toronto historian, said that the NDP will maintain its support in Quebec—provided the Liberals stick with Turner as leader. But he said that Quebec support could be "very temporary" if the Liberals replaced Turner with Chrétien.

The NDP's success may be playing right into Chrétien's hands. In the spring of 1984, with the NDP low in the polls, Chrétien urged the country looking for leadership votes the ar-

gued that that is, the small-town populace, would be better able than Turner, the Bay Street lawyer, to attract support from disaffected New Democrats. At one Liberal gathering in Sturbridge, Ont., that spring, Chrétien said, "A member of the NDP people have come to me and said me, 'You are acceptable.'" Nevertheless, the Liberals elected Turner, not Chrétien, as their leader, lost the 1984 federal election and now squirm uncomfortably as the NDP climbs in the polls.

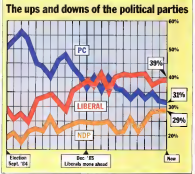
Certainly, the NDP's rise has put pressure on Turner to moderate his right-

wing image and appeal to ordinary Canadians on a wide range of issues. Two years ago, Turner spent much of his time complaining about big government and high deficits. Now, he speaks more often about the need for reinvented day care and protecting old age pensions. But Turner's transformation may be too late to silence a growing number of critics within his own party and among the general public.

Shaping: Recent polls show that the Liberals are the most popular party, with the NDP and Tories slugging it out for second place. However, Turner is falling behind his own party in voter surveys and trails both Broadbent and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in personal popularity. Concluded Winnipeg politician Angus Reid, "The Liberal party could stand to lose more support by confirming John Turner as Liberal leader than by replacing him."

In a similar vein, John Conway, a political sociologist at the University of Regina, says that the Turner-led Liberals stand a good chance of losing significant ground to the NDP. The New Democrats, said Conway, "would hope that the Liberals keep Turner." That is precisely the message that De Gaul, Lalonde and Turner's other critics hope their Liberal colleagues will be thinking about next week as they decide Turner's future.

—PAUL GERRARD with
MARGARENE DEBARR, NICK CLARK and
HELMUT MACKINER in Ottawa



THE MONTREAL CONNECTION

COVER

The exclusive \$100-a-plate black-tie dinner in a private salon at Montreuil's posh Ritz Carleton Hotel was billed as a fund-raising event for a Canadian literary foundation. But the presence of certain guests ensured that political gossip would be part of the after-dinner conversation.

Among the authors being honored that night was former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. And scattered among the 50 guests were several former Ottawa power brokers from the Trudeau years: Senator Michael Pfaendel, former clerk of the Privy Council; James Côtte, Trudeau's former principal secretary; Thomas Asworthy, who succeeded Côtte as that position; and Marc Lalonde, who held several senior positions under Trudeau.

In recent weeks, that group—sometimes in the company of veteran Liberal strategist Keith Dwyer—has come together in Montreal at a variety of social events and business meetings. And last week, as Liberals across Canada considered the impact of John Turner's leadership, many were speculating that the visitation was part of a move by former members of Trudeau's inner circle to reassert their stature within the party. Said Gordon Gibson, former leader of the British Columbia Liberal party: "The non-ideological characteristics of those who are advocating a review is that they were all influential when Trudeau was in power. And they are all anxious to have that influence again."

Those Liberals who suspected that a clique of old Trudeau supporters was scheming to replace Turner were drawing mainly on circumstantial evidence. Trudeau's critics often charged that the decision-making power in his government was held by a handful of close advisers. Now, many key members of that group are living in Montreal and working within a few blocks of one another, often lurching together at the periodic University Club or Montreuil's Four Seasons Hotel. "The fact that these people are seen in each other's

company does not mean they are plotting together," said Blair Williams, a former cabinet director of the Liberal party and a professor of political science at Montreal's Concordia University. "But this is a group of people that still holds one vision of the country, and they are having trouble re-

visiting Trudeau—where he is vice-chairman of the board. He also holds a position on the board of Cadillac Fairview Corp. Ltd., the Toronto-based real estate development firm. Trudeau and Pfaendel lunched together twice last week, and earlier this month Trudeau turned to Pfaendel for an opinion on the revised version of the Liberal party's controversial constitutional position. The party began re-examining its position after some senior Liberals—apparently spurred by Trudeau himself—objected to a statement by Turner that he supported Quebec's demand for constitutional recognition of its status as a distinct society.

• Thomas Asworthy: After leaving government when Turner succeeded Trudeau as Liberal leader in June, 1984, Asworthy went to the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, where he held the Macdonald-King professorship in Canadian studies. Last summer, the Winnipeg-born Asworthy, whose brother Lloyd is a Liberal MP, moved to Montreal to establish and run the Charles R. Broadbent Foundation, a philanthropic society and think-tank planned by the Reagan family but and modelled as such institutions as the Carnegie and Ford foundations in the United States. The foundation's mandate—which is expected to include, among other things, improving relations between Canada and Ireland—will not be announced publicly until December, and friends say that Broadbent has cautioned Asworthy to keep a low profile until then.

Bill Asworthy, along with Lalonde, was one of the few Liberals who attended the Montreal launching of the *Reinvented*, Dwyer's controversial new book, which raises questions about Turner's leadership. Asworthy still travels to Harvard once or twice a month to chair a senior series on Canadian-American relations. After Lalonde lunched last week at a mystery candidate to replace Turner, some Liberals speculated—incorrectly, as it turned out—that he was Asworthy. As worthy apparently relishes his new job



Trudeau in Montreal: a favored group of close advisers



Children (right) Asworthy (center) in a group of people that holds one vision of the country

and is "reluctant to give all that up," according to a friend. Moreover, Asworthy does not yet feel that he is sufficiently bilingual to run for the post of party leader.

• Marc Lalonde: Since leaving politics after co-chairing the 1984 Liberal election campaign, Lalonde has occupied a senior office at the Montreal-based law firm of Stikeman, Elliott, where he has been involved primarily in the firm's international work. But Lalonde's announcement that he would seek a leadership review at the party's Ottawa convention next week caught many of his law partners by surprise. Although the firm has several lawyers active in the backroom of politics—notably David Angus, chairman of the Conservative party's main fund-raising committee—funding partner Howard Bakstman has always insisted that propriety in the firm maintain a low political profile. In fact, when John Turner resigned from the Trudeau cabinet in 1975, Bakstman

would not allow him to return to the firm where he had worked from 1954 to 1965 because Turner would not rule out a return to politics. Said one senior partner at Stikeman, Elliott: "Lalonde has made himself a political target, and the firm knows it."

Some of Lalonde's other colleagues said that they have seen him in the company of both Côtte and Dwyer in recent days. That has prompted further speculation that Lalonde's leadership review letter was not his creation alone.

"Lalonde is far closer to Trudeau's set of people than he ever was while the Liberals were in power," said a senior Montreal Liberal. Lalonde's associates say that he talks with Trudeau at least twice a month. And Lalonde has increased the pressure on Francis Fox, the former Liberal cabinet minister now practicing law with the Montreal firm of Martineau Walker, to join the call for a leadership review. After the Liberals' crushing election loss in 1984, Dwyer privately

denied Fox's role. That business commitment kept him out of the 1984 campaign, but now Lalonde acknowledges that. Martin has leadership aspirations, and he is widely expected to be a candidate in the next election. But in the long term the 50-year-old businessman, who was officially neutral during the 1984 leadership race, is seen by many Quebec Liberals in both the Jean Chrétien and Turner camps as an acceptable leader.

Despite the continued ties between members of Trudeau's elite group, many Liberals doubt that the old guard is planning a coup against Turner. "These people are all old friends, and it is perfectly natural that they should have lunch together," said Martin. "I am so dark, sinister conspiracy." Still, many rank-and-file party members resent the influence of the former prime's grand into the leadership fray. Said political scientist Williams: "These are highly manipulative people who are transfused by old-fashioned values and governed solely by the criteria of winability. This party must get its head together or it is in mortal danger." For John Turner, who has never become reconciled with the Montreal group, the danger is especially intense.

—BRIAN WALLACE in Montreal



An angry Stevens returns fire

Senator Stevens strode into the inquiry chamber entering a courtroom with a confidence. After nearly four months of testimony by 30 witnesses, the former Conservative Industry member finally had his chance to answer the need-to-know charges that fanned his to quit the federal cabinet in May. Stevens shook hands with David Scott, assistant for the industry commissioner, and calmly posed for a throng of photographers. And he seemed relaxed as his own lawyer, John Sponholz, began to question him about the allegations of improper financial dealings that he had, as a senator, given preferential treatment to companies dealing with his family business empire. But Stevens' resentment finally boiled over this time and with anger, he denounced the accusations as "pure McCarthyism" and said they were based on "like jumping together of unrelated facts." Declared the 59-year-old businessman: "It's a disgrace that this type of thing has gone on in our country."

Stevens finally denied the key charge that led to his resignation and the inquiry. Members of parliament in the United Kingdom have accused Stevens (York-Park) of breaching federal conflict-of-interest guidelines when his wife and business partner, Nuvex, obtained a \$26-million loan in May, 1984, to refinance a family company, York Centre Corp. (YCC), which is owned by the Canadian branch of Miguel Alemán, an associate of Miguel Alemán, an owner of a joint-venture company that received \$12.9 million in grants from Stevens's department of regional industrial expansion. Commission counsel Scott has said that Copley made the loan to Nuvex, but that the money was repaid. But Stevens denied knowing that his wife was negotiating the loan and said that he had never heard of Copley until reporters began making inquiries about the matter last April. In addition, he said that the commission was not aware of the loan until before he joined the cabinet, as part of an agreement signed in August, 1989.

by the company and the former Liberal MP.

Stevens also dismissed allegations involving Hasei Bank Canada, which made loans worth about \$36 million to Stevens's companies in 1983. The bank has ties in Korea to the giant Hyundai industrial group, whose subsidiaries

business and often saw each other only one day a week. Said Stevens, referring to the family's estate farm in King County, north of Toronto: "When you go back to the hills of King, you don't sit down and ruminate the nonsense of Ottawa." Stevens also denied using his social material as

stant, Shirley Walker, as a link to his private businesses and said that he was completely unaware of her involvement in the affairs of Berk Centra. Walker's testimony about her extensive business dealings while on the government payroll caused a sensation at the (negative) last, was not.

Earlier in the week, Steven Shriver repeatedly testified that she never discussed the management of family companies with her husband and that he never did not discuss government matters with her. During six days of cross-examination, she repeatedly said that she could not recall the details of various transactions. Finally, the 66-year-old lawyer testified that she did not even know what the federal department her husband was responsible for.

Hyundai Auto Canada Ltd. received word from Stevens's industry department. Stevens said that he had no idea that the bank and the automaker were linked and called the Hana-Hyundai matter "one of the most startling pieces of this entire series of allegations."

Throughout his testimony, Stevens insisted that he had obeyed a series of the federal rules regarding him to place his assets—including his shares in Gill Construction Ltd., through which he controlled York Centre Corp.—in a blind trust. Indeed, he said that he had no knowledge "whatsoever" of his wife's efforts to reorganize York Centre—among them a meeting with David Rymer, president of a union. Led, Stevens appointed Elyon a director of the Canada Development Investment Corp. in October, 1984.

The couple, he said, rarely discussed

partment of regional industrial expansion was, she replied, "I found it hard to keep the name straight."

Stevens scheduled to be questioned by Scott this week, is the last witness expected to appear before the inquiry commission. After the former minister concludes his testimony, Scott and Bepko will begin preparing final submissions to the inquiry commission, Ontario High Court Judge William Parker. Then, Parker himself will consider the more than 200 exhibits and 12,000 pages of sworn testimony gathered by the commission. Last week Stevens said that he was hopeful that he will be exonerated—as, he put it, that "somebody would come to their senses and take away the evidence against me." It seemed as much a wish as an expectation.

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A seismic shift in Montreal

In another time, outgoing Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau would have reflected the margin of the victory. Drapeau was eight of the nine election campaigns he fought and often boasted about the size of his victories. In one of them, he captured more than 90 per cent of the vote. But last week, for the first time in 32 years, the 70-year-old Drapeau watched Montreal's municipal elections from the sidelines. And by the end of the night, he was joined by all but one of his former Civic Party councillors in a session shift of political legitimacy. Montrealers overwhelmingly cast their ballots for the reform-minded Montreal Citizens' Movement (MCM). In total, 66 MCM members were elected, including the new mayor, 45-year-old Jean Dore, a former labour lawyer. Declared Dore, who crushed Drapeau's handpicked successor, Claude Dugas, by winning more than two-thirds of the vote. "We are now entering a new era in Montreal."

In both style and substance, the new administration is expected to differ radically from the previous one. Drapeau's tightly controlled Civic Party was known for its secrecy; the MCM plans to let voters ask questions at city council meetings and will ensure more citizen involvement in decisions. In fact, the MCM shares many ideas with the urban reformers who rose power in other major Canadian cities during the 1970s. While Drapeau's party was made up largely of middle-aged francophone businessmen (average age 54), the MCM's councillors are an average 35 years younger and come from a variety of backgrounds. Among them is the city's first openly homosexual politician, Raymond Nadeau.

The Dore household may also mark the return of English Canadians to positions of influence at city hall. Dore is expected to name Michael Palmer, a veteran of 22 years on council, as chairman of the council's executive committee—the first English Mayor. In December to hold that key position. Although the MCM recruits its targets to be affiliated with political parties at other levels, the short list of candidates for the six-member council

includes three councillors with previous ties to the Parti Québécois. That ability to attract diverse political factions—pro-patriotic, pro-Quebec and pro-federalist Anglos—has been a key to the MCM's success. Said Dore: "We are a party of Montrealers, first and foremost. All else is put aside."



Dore (right) celebrates lower taxes and less secrecy.

included voters that in the 12 years since it was founded, it has changed from a nagging leftist protest movement into a mainstream party of political moderation. Dore made the case for economic renewal a key part of his campaign, promising to lower taxes and make Montreal a major international financial centre. In the process, he won a near-unthinkable endorsement from the former president of Montreal's Chamber of Commerce.

The sheer size of the MCM victory seemed routine from the minute it was founded. The pro-sect Montreal Gazette called the result "a turning point perhaps without parallel in Quebec since Jean Lesage's liberals won in the 1968 election." But it seemed unlikely that the MCM would win so easily. The city's former mayor, who spent his time as a councilor with the party over policy issues, warned, "Montrealers voted like sheep. Now they risk having a government that will treat them like that." But with his vast majority at city hall, Dore's challenge will be to fulfill his pledge—ensuring that the voters' demands are not stifled.

—ANTHONY WILSON SMITH in Montreal



William Wadsworth and Governor the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney.

Attack on the whalers

At 6 a.m. on Sunday, Nov. 9, a telephone call from Plymouth, England, awakened environmentalist Paul Watson in his Vancouver apartment. The caller said only, "We have two on the bottom," then hung up. Watson immediately knew the meaning of the message: a team from his militant animal-protection group, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, had succeeded in sinking two whaling ships in Reykjavik, Iceland.

It was several hours before authorities in Reykjavik realized what had happened. At 5 a.m. that day a watchman noticed the one of three whaling ships docked in the harbor was sitting low in the water. Within an hour two of the 400-ton vessels were sitting partially submerged on the shallow harbor bottom. Initially, police suspected an accident. But divers found that whaling ships had deliberately sunk the ships by unhooking 14 belts fastening steel plates to the masts of the ships. The next day employees of a plant where whale meat is processed, 40 km from Reykjavik, arrived to find that computer equipment and machinery had been destroyed with sledgehammers and axes.

Watson quickly blamed responsibility for both incidents. The Sea Shepherd leader, linked to the sinking of two Spanish whaling ships in 1980, said that two members of his group had worked in Iceland's fishing industry while planning the operation. They goal to halt what Sea Shepherd con-

siders illegal whaling by Iceland. The attack outraged Icelandic leaders. "The submerses are regarded by the Icelandic government as terrorists," said Prime Minister Steingrimsdottir. "All efforts will be made to get the people responsible for this information set." Later police issued arrest warrants for Rodney Corbridge of Morgan Hill, Calif., and a man using the alias of David Howard of Plymouth, Brit. But they did not act directly to prosecute Watson.

In New York, where he was met by Watson, Corbridge said that the submerses did everything possible to prevent injuries. "I cannot see how they're accusing me of terrorism when all I sought to do was protect 180," he said. "If anything, the Sea Shepherd team staged terrorism by itself." In 1980 Iceland agreed to abide by a decision of the International Whaling Commission to suspend commercial whaling from 1986 to 1990. But it was allowed to catch 200 whales a year for scientific purposes. Said Watson, 35: "They are trying to say they're killing whales for research, but the whale meat is being sold to Japan."

Watson said that it will take Iceland's whaling industry two years to recover financially from last week's attacks. But if the industry continues to break the law, Watson added, "We'll be saying they won't be hit again."

—MARCEL GREER with JAMES CHAZAR in the mayor and SENIOR WILSON in Reykjavik

Two losers call it quits

Two announcements came from up posts ends of the country, but the messages were almost the same. In British Columbia, Robert Skelly resigned as leader of the provincial New Democratic Party because "the problem with politicians is that sometimes they stay on too long." In Prince Edward Island, Conservative leader James Lee announced his resignation saying, "It was time for a change—for us personally and for the party." In fact, voters made the decision for both men. Lee had been expected to quit two years ago, when he lost a provincial election—and his own Charlottetown seat—in the Liberals under Joseph Ghis. And observers had predicted Skelly's departure before his party was routed by Social Credit Premier William Vander Zand on Oct. 22.

For Skelly, the election loss was especially bitter. Before Vander Zand succeeded William Van der Zand in B.C.'s premier in July, the MRC had led in the polls for two years. Earnest and loquacious, Skelly offered a clear alternative to the tough-minded Bennett. But Vander Zand's leadership convention victory kept the vice strategy. Displaying more nerve than the conservative Skelly, the popular millionaire politician killed himself as a consultant who would get the province working again. But not Skelly's image (shown during the election campaign, when he suffered hours of on-camera jitters. The result: a 47-to-55-seat Liberal victory).

Last week Skelly said that his leadership loss was not a major factor in the defeat. "I gave it my best shot," said the 43-year-old teacher, elected leader in May, 1984. "I had already made a decision that if we didn't win this election, then I would step down." Skelly will stay on until an NDP leadership convention, expected next spring, and will continue to represent his Vancouver Island riding of Alberni. His Vancouver successor will be Michael Harnett, who was a seat in the legislature last month.

In Prince Edward Island, former education minister Leslee Marshall was cited as one of the possible successors to Lee. The island's premier for four years, Lee himself had earlier written to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to seek a Senate appointment. But last week Lee accepted a 30-year posting to the Charlottetown-based Confederation Pension Commission. His salary: \$75,000-97,000 annually. ◇



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NETWORKING



Griffith, from 'sex, drugs and booze' to nephehood

The personal life of movie actress **Malania Griffith**, who plays a free spirit in the recently released *Something Wild*, has become positively conservative. Griffith first made a name for herself by playing sexually precocious young girls and then married and divorced actor **Don Johnson** of *Miami Vice* fame—all before she turned 20. Later, she said, she decided to clean up her "lousy life of sex, drugs and booze." Now 28 and separated from her second husband, actor **Steven Bauer**, she says that the most important period in her life is the child of that marriage, 16-month-old son **Alexander**. Declared Griffith, "Motherhood has helped me find my personality. In this business, you can get caught up in the glimmer of it all—and it really doesn't matter one little bit."



Layton 'never bored'

The latest gossip book on reality comes from **Bonnie Christine de Munnay** of *Moscow*, who offers an unflin-

tering glimpse of the personality's glamorous family. In *Palace: My Life in the Royal Family of Moscow*, the 37-year-old estranged nephew of **Prince Rainier** says that he and his 21-year-old niece, **Princess Stephanie**, have suffered since the death of Stephanie's mother, **Princess Grace**. Said de Munnay: "Since Grace has been taken from our midst, the family has completely gone to hell." He added that Princess Stephanie is—as was older sister **Princess Caroline**—"crazy, liberal and bisexual." Princess Grace, declared de Munnay, helped "Caroline move around to a sense of duty, family, the rest of it. I can't see that happening to Stephanie."

British Prince Master **Margaret Thatcher's** 23-year-old twins, **Carol** and **Mark**, both made headlines last week. Carol was in hot water with her employer,

The Daily Telegraph, for selling an interview to a British women's magazine. Mark made happier news, announcing his engagement to **Diane Singleton**, 26, the daughter of a Dallas, Tex., millionaire car dealer. Mark, a former race car driver who moved to Dallas in 1984 to sell luxury cars, is marrying a fellow car enthusiast. According to Diane's brother, **Doug**, the bride-to-be is "not a Volkswagen type of girl. Caroline is her style."

Poor **Irving Layton** is used to public attention: the media have often focused on his long-past personal life, which has included five marriages. But viewers looking for scandal in the life of the 74-year-old *Governor General's Award* winner will be disappointed by a new hour-long documentary,

Poor Irving Layton Observed, to be broadcast on CBC-TV early next year. National Film Board director **Gerald Winkler** said that he decided to concentrate on Layton the poet and teacher. Said Winkler: "What impressed me

most about Layton is the way he expresses his spontaneity, robust love for life. He is never bored."

Many Canadian performers have moved to the United States in search of fame and fortune, but singer **Billy Newton-Davis** has done the opposite. Last week the Cleveland-born landed immigrant, who moved to Canada from New York City in 1988, won two *Juno Awards*—for most promising male vocalist and best solo/duo recording—for his first album, *Love is a Contact Sport*. Newton-Davis began his performing career by singing and dancing in Broadway musicals. His first



Newton-Davis, finding fame in Canada

came to Toronto with a tour of the musical *Elbow*, and he says that he floored the city so much that he decided to stay. He added that the move also pleased his parents, who still live in Cleveland. Said Newton-Davis: "They worried about me when I was in New York. When I came here, they started sleeping again."

Federal Liberal **Shelia Copps**, the first pregnant MP, says that she hopes to be a role model for women who want to combine family with politics. The 33-year-old member from the Ontario riding of Hamilton East, who is expecting her first child next March, says that she will take time off after her baby is born but expects to be back in the Commons after six weeks. So far, said Copps, the response to her pregnancy from male colleagues is that they "now offer me their chairs."

—Edited by YVONNE COE

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The Iranian caper

All week the information leaks and criticism mounted. Around the world, friendly governments expressed shock and outrage. In the United States itself, even Ronald Reagan loyalists made little attempt to conceal their disapproval, and congressmen of both parties demanded a public accounting. At the White House, the tension reached such a pitch that Chief of Staff Donald Regan reportedly erupted in a shouting match with National Security Adviser John Poindexter in front of the stunned President over a dispute about public relations tactics. Finally, as the daybreak lightened, the White House ended its two-week silence. In a 28-

nor will we, explicable to terrorists," he said. Reagan listed the hostages as the fourth and last of his considerations, the others being to renew relations with Iran, to bring an "honorable end" to the bloody six-year war between Iran and Iraq, and to eliminate state-sponsored terrorism. Reagan claimed that the arms sent were purely defensive and in a quantity so modest that it "could easily fit into a single cargo plane." But such protestations failed to mollify critics from both parties, who protested Reagan's sketchy explanations and selective pressivities. Nor did Reagan's speech obscure the evident chasm in the administration's foreign policy.

First word of the secret contacts be-

lieves were quick to point out that the President gave only a partial explanation of the arms deal, making no mention of the millions of dollars worth of U.S. arms shipped to Iraq through Israel, apparently with the administration's authorization.

Across Europe, newspaper editorials expressed outrage over Washington's hypocrisy in doing secretly what it was publicly pressuring its allies not to undertake—negotiations with terrorists. An editorial in *The Guardian* reportedly reflected the British government's bitterness at being undercut just as it was urging tough sanctions against Syria for backing terrorists (page 34).

"The anti-Western politician who tries to deliver a single moral lecture on the evils of state terrorism," said the British daily, "deserves to be driven out of town in a bed of daisies and piled against some-"

one's wall." The day after his televised address, and just before British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher arrived in Washington to see him, Reagan announced limited economic sanctions against Syria—including expending a ban on militarily useful exports, banning U.S. Export-Import Bank programs for Syria, and terminating trading rights for Syrian planes. Meanwhile, observers noted the spectre of a U.S. foreign policy apparatus in chaos. The criticism intensified on Monday when a Washington source learned former U.S. Marine Brigadier General James Horley was in jail on charges of smuggling arms to contraband. The capture of Horley, after the crash of a plane carrying weapons to the guerrillas, exposed what appeared to be a covert operation sanctioned by Washington to aid opponents of the government.

The "Iranian caper," as it was being termed, was undertaken by a handful of shadowy, inexperienced National Security Council (NSC) officials under the direction of Poindexter and operat-



Reagan's aid could easily fit into a single cargo plane.

ing out of the White House basement. Critics accused the President of sneaking Congress and the advice of his own state and defense departments in favor of the NSC's "cowboys," as some critics called them.

That impression has been reinforced by other recent policy blunders. Among these were the administration's apparent confusion about exactly what was put on the table at the abortive Reykjavik summit last month and the embarrassing revelations about White House attempts to skirt a congressional ban on military aid to the Nicaraguan contra rebels. Taken together with those, the Iranian initiative provoked fundamental questions about the United States' credibility and severely tarnished the lustre of the Reagan administration. Said former White House foreign policy adviser Helmut Sonnenfeldt, "It has had dire consequences within our government and raised questions about White House attempts

to subvert Congress—and that's bad business." For some, the most disturbing aspect of the affair was what Norman Ornstein of the conservative American Enterprise Institute called its "momentous moment of ineptitude."

The Iranian initiative, he said, raised the question: "Did the NSC look like the Keystone Kops?"

The Iranian revelations also raised questions about Secretary of State George Shultz's eloquence and his reportedly showed his disapproval of the initiative and piped at being overruled on the matter by a "daring minister" from the operations. But according to White House sources, reports that he was ready to resign over the matter when it became public were minimized. Said Shultz, "I never intended to resign."

Like the President, former security council chief McFarlane attempted last week to gloss off the arms for Iran as

connected to the issue of the hostages and meant only to demonstrate the good faith of the United States as it sought to improve relations with a regime still dominated by the fanatically anti-American, Shi'ite-led Ayatollah Khomeini. But such arguments failed to convince American critics, and analysts pointed out that if the United States had in fact deliberately traded arms for hostages it had not won a very good deal. Although three kidnapped Americans have been freed, three others have been taken hostage since the arms shipments began, and at least one has been killed. As if to underscore the apparent futility of the U.S. effort, Iranian President Ali Khamenei said in Tehran last Friday that "under the present circumstances" his government could grow as further help over the hostage issue. Khamenei added that there could be no reconciliation with the United States until Washington changed its policy in the Middle East, including its support for Israel. For its part, the pro-Iranian terrorist group Islamic Jihad, or Holy War, which released Jacobson last held for other hostages, including Americans Terry Anderson and Thomas Sutherland, announced it will follow a more intransigent policy in the future. In a



Reagan's aid could easily fit into a single cargo plane.

manate television address to the nation that struck an uncharacteristically defensive note. Reagan attempted to justify what conservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater called "probably one of the major mistakes the United States has ever made in foreign policy"—the violation of the President's own ban on arms shipments to Iran. Repeating that he had never authorized a "secret diplomatic initiative" 18 months ago to send arms to Iran, Reagan termed "utterly false" charges that he had exchanged these weapons for three hostages held by pro-Iranian terrorists in Lebanon. "We have not,

tween the United States and Iran, was published in the pro-Syrian weekly *Al-Shiraa* in Beirut three weeks ago. Two days later Mujibul-Husseini Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of Iran's parliament, added some color to the account by revealing that the former White House national security adviser, Robert McFarlane, had been in Tehran earlier this year to conduct negotiations. After that, the details leaked out by one of secret shipments over a period of 18 months, during which time three American hostages were released, the most recent being educator David Jacobson two weeks ago.

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statement delivered last week to an international news agency in Moscow. West Beirut, the group said that it will not release any more hostages until its demands for the release of Arab prisoners are met.

Whatever the political wisdom of the controversial deal, the Reagan administration insists that shipping arms to Iran was within the law. Questions about the legality of the initiative are of particular interest to the 17 individuals not connected with the U.S. administration who are being prosecuted by the justice department for trying to sell an estimated \$2 billion worth of U.S. arms to Iran over the past two years. Since their arrest last summer they have insisted that they were assured that such sales had White House approval—and they claim to have videotape tapes provided by the U.S. Customs Service to prove it. Indeed, last week a lawyer for one of the accused, Israeli businessman Geroni Spertberg, filed an affidavit in a New York court subpoenaing U.S. Vice-President George Bush, McFall, and other top administration officials.

At the same time, evidence of Iran's role in the affair, disclosed in leaks to the media, has infuriated moderate Arab regimes. Said Clovis Mahomed, the Arab League's ambassador to the United States. "If this strategic relationship with Israel results in running a surreptitious diplomatic underworld, then there is little hope for peace in the Middle East."

Forsee CIA director William Colby agreed that a victory for Iran over Iraq would be disastrous both for Arab countries and for American interests in the Persian Gulf. Said Colby: "They [the White House] are sending signs to the wrong side."

Meanwhile, as the House intelligence committee opens hearings into the operation this week, there is a growing demand for some sort of congressional control over the National Security Council, which has traditionally been free of such restraints. Some find it ironic that Reagan may be undermined by the very Iranian factor that contributed so heavily to the defeat of his Democratic predecessor, Jimmy Carter, who failed so humiliatedly to secure the release of 52 Americans taken hostage when Iranian overran the American Embassy in Tehran in November, 1979. Said Chairman of the American Enterprise Institute: "The Democrats are just salivating over what these congressional investigations are going to bring out."

—MARK MCDOUGALL with
WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

SYRIA

Chirac's Syrian deal

Once again hostages were freed by their kidnappers in Lebanon last week, and once again a Western government insisted, against all evidence, that it had not traded away anything in return. The hostages were French ethnics Camille Soutag, 35, and

Four French hostages have now been freed since Chirac began the policy seven months ago. But while most French citizens applauded, some wondered whether Paris would have to make even larger concessions to get back the six Frenchmen still held cap-



Soutag (left), wife and Chirac: six months in an underground prison in Beirut

Marcel Gaudin, 54, who were handed over to Syrian authorities and flown on to Paris. French officials were quick to reject comparisons to the release of U.S. hostage David Jacobson a week before, which had been linked to U.S. shipments of weapons to Iran. French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Jarrad based that "you will never hear talk of arms deliveries or finances in relation with the release of our hostages." But within hours the French announced that they would now pay Iran \$40 million as a first installment on a disputed \$1.3-billion debt dating back to 1978. When asked if there was a connection, Jarrad said, "You must not present things this way."

In the French government's view, the hostage release last week was a triumph for Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's policy of improving relations with Iran and Syria. Those countries have influence over the terrorist groups holding hostages in Lebanon

due in Lebanon. As the right-wing daily *Le Figaro* put it: "It is clear that, to obtain freedom for the other hostages, one must again pay the price of cash. At what level? We do not know. Much? No doubt."

Arab diplomats in the Middle East say that Syria's prominent role in last week's releases is a clear victory for Damascus in its bid to convince the world that it does not sponsor or support terrorism. The Syrians have been roundly condemned in the West for their alleged involvement with Nasser Haddadin, the Jordanian who was jailed for 45 years in London last month for trying to blow up an Israeli jet by placing a bomb in his pregnant girlfriend's luggage. Last week the 12 European Community (EC) countries responded to British demands by imposing limited sanctions against Syria. But Jarrad insisted that the condemnation did not implicate the Syrian government, only "some Syrians." That





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was very easy. I was imprisoned a lot of the time," Coufari said he did not know the names of the five other West Germans in the jail, but when the guards took Souag out of his cell he was free him, one of the prisoners stopped Souag a note that said, "I am Irish. Please tell my family." The prisoner was believed to be Brian Keenan, a 30-year-old native of Belfast who teaches English at the American University in Beirut. Nothing had been heard of him

since he was kidnapped last April. When Coufari and Souag arrived at Paris's only airport the next day, Coufari himself noted them. The prime minister thanked Syria, Saudi Arabia and Algeria as "those who made this liberation possible" but did not say what role the latter two played. Coufari did not mention Iraq, but a commentary on Tel Aviv radio said that French statements to repay the billion-dollar 1974 loan, which the Shah of Iran had made to French nuclear authorities, had been one of Iran's conditions for help in freeing the hostages. The others were that Paris stop providing refuge to Iranian opposition groups and end arms shipments



Assad, co-chairman of Syria's involvement in bombing of West German officials.

to Iraq in its six-year-old war with Iran. The commentary said that Coufari "wants to rebuild the bridges that his predecessors had ignorantly destroyed."

Chirac has also come under fire for comments he made to the conservative Washington Times about the El Al bomb plot. The newspaper first published only a summary of its interview with the French prime minister two weeks ago, but after Chirac's aides denied the report, the newspaper ran a full transcript. In it Chirac said that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher had told him that the attempt was probably the work not of the Syrian government but of the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad, in a bid to discredit Damascus. Chirac did not make it clear whether he endorsed the "German" theory, saying only, "I don't go as far as they do."



Assad, co-chairman

It is precisely that policy which has angered Chirac's critics. After Hindawi's conviction in London, Britain cut off diplomatic relations with Damascus, and the United States and Canada withdrew their ambassadors. But France—and press reports that it would still respond to Syria in exchange for an end to the wave of bombings that pummeled Paris in September—led the opposition to Britain's plan for similar action by its Common Market partners. And, in fact, the nations agreed upon last week, including a ban on new arms sales to Syria and curbs on Syrian diplomatic activity, were largely symbolic. As the Syrian government newspaper Tahrir said, they were "weak in comparison with Britain's crazy campaign against Syria."

Chirac's efforts to downplay Syria's involvement in terrorist activities may be surely tested by the trial at West Berlin this week. The defendants, Hana and Phawzi Salameh, have said they police that the bombing of the German-Arab cultural centre, which injured 16 people, was directed by Syrian air force intelligence officer Huthaim Said. He is the same man whose brother Hindawi was accused in the London airport plot. Both Hana and Phawzi have also said that the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin provided the explosives. German judicial sources said that if the pair retracted their confessions, as Hindawi did, the trial could drag on for months. If they admitted the attack, the sources said, the proceedings could be over in a few days. But whichever course they choose, the trial is the most-paused main chamber of West Berlin's courthouse, packed with reporters and guarded by dozens of armed police, seemed likely to pose a situation that could strain Syria's delicate—and France's Middle East diplomacy.

—BOB LEVIN was credited darkness in Paris and PETER LEWIS in Brussels.

A new crisis in Manila

With newspaper stuffed into his mouth to stifle his screams and with his hands tied in front of him, Filipino labor leader Isodoro Orlina, 58, a leading politician of the left, was tortured and mutilated before being shot and stabbed to death. He was disfigured so badly that his brother Bernardo was only able to identify him from a scar on his right leg. The discovery of Orlina's body in a ditch alongside a highway in the suburban Antipolo section of Manila last week plunged the nine-month-old administration of President Corason Aquino into a crisis that observers said could scuttle peace talks with Communist insurgents and a suspended ceasefire. Trade union leaders immediately called for a general strike and accused right-wing army officers of the murder. The military promptly denied the charge, but leaders of the left predicted a new wave of right-wing terrorism. Outraged one prominent socialist, Leonardo Aquino said, "We believe this is just the first in a series of liquidations."

Rumors of an imminent military coup were rampant early last week. In

fact, Aquino later admitted that she had been hesitant about leaving the country for a four-day official visit to Japan. There was no coup, but when Aquino returned from her successful trip she learned about the murder of Orlina, who had vowed that he would call a general strike to thwart any coup.

Amid rumors of a coup, Aquino must deal with a prominent politician's murder and flagging peace talks with rebels

attempts by the military. In Aquino's absence, several leftist groups—some of them with Communist links—called for a "people's uprising" in the event of a takeover by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the president's main rival. And at the end of the week the president ordered a full-scale investigation into the murder of Orlina and his driver. Declared Aquino: "Whatever the cost in political terms,

I don't care. Justice must be done." The murder was the first of a Filipino political leader since the assassination of Aquino's husband, Benigno, in August, 1983. His death sparked the wave of political opposition that led eventually to the overthrow of strongman Ferdinand Marcos last February and the swearing-in of Aquino's wife as president. Orlina's murder brought an immediate response from rebel, neo-guerrilla Sison Ocampo of the Communist-dominated National Democratic Front, who cancelled planned talks with the government last week on a ceasefire in the 15-year rebellion that has now spread to more than 60 of the country's 75 provinces.

Agriculture Minister Ramon Mitra, a member of the government negotiating team, and that the rebels were concerned about their safety and security. And in a joint statement, the two organizations headed by Orlina—the 500,000-member May First labor federation and the 100,000-member People's Party—called on Aquino to find the murderers and to discipline military officers who have taken "the path of violence against the people." As for Orlina's murder, May First spokesman Origen Beltrán said: "We're not saying Enrile is responsible. But there is a chain of events." The Communist-led New People's Army issued a statement

claiming that Enrile and "his men" were responsible for the assassination, but offered no proof.

As well, about 5,000 young workers and university students marched through the streets under the banner of the newly formed Coalition Against the Resurgence of Fascism, an umbrella group involving 60 activist organizations. Chanting "Enrile sangra," they rallied outside Camp Aguinaldo, the headquarters of the defense ministry and the military, then marched eight kilometres to the University of the Philippines campus for a Roman Catholic mass and prayer vigil.

Aquino later attended a wake for Orlina at a university chapel and honored his widow, Felicidad, and their two children; that the killers would be caught. Appealing for public calm, the president recalled that when her own husband was murdered in 1983 she had wanted to know the facts before saying anything. Said Aquino: "Turn the truck and then action so that when we take it from there, there will be no hesitation or regrets."

The savage death-squad-style murder of Orlina cast a shadow over Enrile's triumph, visit to Japan. The president returned to Manila with special Japanese government loans of \$500 million to build a thermal power

plant. In addition, Aquino said that the encouragement she had received in Tokyo "exceeded my expectations." But after the murder, many business leaders expressed caution about the future of the economy. Unions threat-



Orlina tortured, shot and stabbed

ened to stage a wave of strikes to greet the murder. Said Naul Conserpin, chairman of Unsaon Unsaon? "Reformers are very disturbed by what has happened. The killing will

certainly affect the business climate." For his part, Marsh Thomas, executive vice-president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila, added, "The Philippines is an open country and a safe place, but it is not going to be perceived that way."

Charges and countercharges flew from the left wing to the right wing in the wake of Orlina's death. But the soldiers did not leave any clues to their identities. Col Gregorio Honasan, the leader of a group of officers loyal to Enrile, dismissed charges of military involvement in the murder. Speaking on television, he said, "The military always gets the blame for things of this sort."

But Ben Oyle, who was secretary of labor in the cabinet of the ousted Marcos, noted, "I detect a sharpening of the confrontational atmosphere building up. All over the land you see these acts of violence being repeated on both sides." And the president himself was showing signs of drawing the line. In remarks she delivered upon her arrival back in Manila, she had strong words for members of her cabinet who have created problems for her. Said Aquino: "Such self-indulgence will no longer be tolerated."

—KEVIN MAXWELL with LEO MURRAY
in Manila

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A threat to heating costs

The first snows have settled on many Canadian communities, and natural gas furnaces across the country have fired up to combat the chill. But the coming winter will be an uncertain one for Canadian gas consumers as they begin to feel the impact of a far-reaching gas-pricing agreement reached last month between federal Energy Minister Marcel Masse and his counterpart in Alberta, Neil Watson. As at Nov. 1 the price of gas shipped between provinces to consumers has been determined on the open market, not by federal government regulators. And Canadian producers no longer require Ottawa's approval for the price of gas that they export to the United States—even if they undercut the price charged to Canadian consumers. Hopes for lower gas prices are high, especially in Central Canada, the largest gas market. But in the weeks following the announcement of the accord, some energy experts

have concluded that a four-gas market may mean that smaller consumers—particularly households—will eventually pay more for gas than they would under the previous regulations.

A one-year interim agreement signed by Ottawa and the producing provinces in Oct. 31, 1985, allowed producers to sell their gas directly to major consumers—mainly industrial users—at whatever price they could negotiate. Those producers, concentrated in Alberta, supply consumers from British Columbia to Quebec, where the pipelines end. But in practice, few industrial users were able to negotiate low-cost contracts. That was because Canada's monopoly natural gas carrier, Toronto-based Trans-Canada Pipelines Ltd., implemented a

transportation surcharge on gas supplied directly to users, effectively eliminating any price advantage.

But with last month's agreement, the number of industrial negotiating cheaper gas contracts is expected to increase dramatically. The reason: Masse announced cabinet approval for an amendment to the National Energy

Board Act that eliminates the transportation surcharge. That provision would give western producers direct access to Canadian markets, particularly their highly prized industrial customers in Ontario and Quebec.

At the same time, Ottawa agreed to eliminate its so-called adjustment factor, a government policy which ensured that Canadians did not pay more for Canadian gas than American living in an adjacent region. Because of that provision, Canadian producers had feared themselves priced out of the multibillion-dollar U.S. gas market, because they could not lower their prices enough to compete against cheaper U.S. gas. Now, some analysts are predicting that by 1990, when the current U.S. gas surplus ends because of re-

duced drilling activity, Canadian producers will benefit. Said Allan Blacker, president of Pace Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary: "We are on the verge of delivering 70 million cubic feet a day to northern Nevada and Idaho."

The decision to introduce greater competition in the natural gas market is part of an overall effort by the fed-

eral government to reduce the cost of oil and gas export prices after the fact. Said Masse: "If the experience shows that the markets are not working as expected, we will take rapid, corrective action."

Still, last month's interim agreement predicted that homeowners in Central Canada, after first seeing a small drop in their heating costs, could

experience a discount of 20 cents per thousand cubic feet of gas, or about \$30 a year. Other provinces are preparing to move in the same direction.

But the gesture toward small consumers seemed to be aimed mainly at counteracting widespread complaints of preferential treatment in industry. Said an official at one utility: "If you

difficult in resources—a significant contribution to the consumers of this country. When you impose a political discount, it does not sit very well."

The residential discounts now await approval by the provincial regulatory bodies. But even when the utilities claim that gas prices already favor the consumer, Union Gas, for one, estimates that its industrial customers savings by \$11 million a year, while homeowners pay \$75 million less than they should. Said Jack Cooper, Union's senior vice-president of marketing and gas supply: "We propose that we shift \$9 million into the residential market." Utilities that serve Ontario have tabled proposals before the Ontario Energy Board (OEB) that would shift rates and reduce homeowners' \$30 savings to at most \$5 a year. Depending on the utility, other homeowners would see their rates rise slightly. Said its chairman Robert McNamara: "There are going to be a lot of heart-broken residential customers."

Clearly, it is the industrial customers who stand to gain the most from the new gas accord. Many industries say they welcomed the opportunity to red their production costs. Since the 1969-1985 agreement, Eastern Canadian industries that use natural gas as a fuel or a raw material in manufacturing have already used an estimated \$120 million by negotiating directly with western producers, according to Martha Macgregor, director general of the natural gas branch of the federal energy department.

Other manufacturers added that without gas discounts, they would find it increasingly difficult to compete against American industry. C-I-L Inc. of Toronto, which is the largest gas consumer in Eastern Canada, uses 30 billion cubic feet of gas a year, said that the reduced rates have meant an annual savings of \$1 million. But that was scheduled for closure because of U.S. competition. Said Stuart Hay, president of C-I-L's agricultural group: "Thank goodness deregulation is taking place."

But many western Canadian producers warn that deregulation still has not gone far enough. They expressed concern that Ottawa continues to insist on having at least 15 years of proven gas reserves on hand before the deal can be approved. Masse has recommended that the National Energy Board review that provision. But some gas producers added that they will press for complete removal of the reserves provision. Still, if homeowners find that they do not benefit from a three-market fair gas, the next step toward deregulation could prove politically contentious.

—ANN WALSHBY with JOHN HOSWIE in Calgary and MICHAEL BIRN in Ottawa



Mar. 1986 gas pricing (right): gas prices cuts for industry but uncertainty for homeowners

eventually pay slightly more for natural gas in the absence of federal price controls. Residential gas users, who still buy from utilities that are subject to provincial price regulations, are sometimes to negotiate cheaper gas supplies from producers. But as part of the Nov. 1 accord, TransCanada Pipelines and the main utilities in Central Canada reached new pricing agreements. Union Gas Ltd. of Calgary, the Toronto-based Consumers' Gas Systems, Winnipeg-based InterCity Gas Corp. and Gas Management Inc. of Montreal will give residential con-

sumers a discount of 20 cents per thousand cubic feet of gas, or about \$30 a year. Other provinces are preparing to move in the same direction.

But the gesture toward small consumers seemed to be aimed mainly at counteracting widespread complaints of preferential treatment in industry. Said an official at one utility: "If you



A financial giant's plans

The series of high-level meetings is expected to take place late this week in a downtown Toronto hotel conference room. The exclusive audience will include some of Canada's wealthiest and most powerful business leaders. And they will spend the day listening to senior executives of New York City-based Drexel Burnham Lambert—the most controversial and feared investment bank in the United States—describe their plans to open an office in Canada. Drexel's aggressive investment bankers pioneered the tactic of using high-yield investments known as junk bonds as a way of helping corporate raiders obtain huge sums of money to finance some of Wall Street's most spectacular and bitterly contested takeovers. Now the firm is planning to import its controversial techniques to Canada. Declared Mart Baskin, the Winnipeg-born lawyer, takeover specialist and Harvard Business School lecturer who was hired by Drexel six weeks ago to head the firm's Canadian operations: "The next few years are going to be a very exciting time on Bay Street."

If Drexel is able to duplicate even a small part of its phenomenal U.S. success north of the border, some of Canada's largest corporate empires could become its targets. In the United States, Drexel's use of junk bond financing has helped turn the corporate world upside down, causing billion-dollar operations, including Gulf Corp. and Mellon Inc., to tumble takeovers by much smaller companies. Kevin Burke, a director at Toronto-based Lancaster Financial Inc., a merchant bank formed last June to specialize in mergers and acquisitions, confessed that with Drexel's arrival "a junk bond world will develop in Canada." And, Burke added, "Drexel will probably start on the takeover side." Indeed, one Drexel executive who asked not to be named told *Maclean's* that the firm has already started work

on two takeover attempts involving major Canadian companies. Drexel was founded in 1982 as Burnham & Co. Inc., and its rise to prominence began in 1983, when it acquired investment dealer Drexel Priestman Inc. Michael Milken, a brilliant young



Baskin helping corporate raiders to finance a wave of takeovers

trader working for Drexel Priestman, convinced his new associates that there was money to be made in trading junk bonds, an activity disdained by larger, more traditional firms. At that time, most junk bonds on the market had originally been issued by profitable companies on highly rated bonds. But when a company got into financial trouble, such rating agencies as Standard & Poor's Corp. of New York downgraded those bonds to reflect the fact that they were a riskier investment—and the trading value dropped. Sunk holders then often sold them at huge discounts to speculators, and the speculators acquired the pejorative nickname of junk bond.

But in 1976 Drexel Burnham launched a new strategy. It began underselling high-yield bonds for small, largely unproven companies that were traditionally shunned by the bond market and had to rely on bank loans to finance their operations. To attract investors, they offered a high rate of return—often two or three per cent more than investment-grade bonds. Investment experts immediately dubbed the bonds "original issue junk." But the strategy was highly successful, and by 1981 Drexel had captured more than 50 per cent of the trading in the junk market.

Then, in 1983 Drexel devised what proved to be its most controversial—and profitable—tactic: the use of junk bonds in hostile takeovers. Previously, corporate raiders had to arrange costly credit lines with financial institutions before launching a takeover bid. But with Drexel's assistance, the raider proposed to pay for a successful takeover by issuing junk bonds that were often guaranteed by Drexel and backed by the assets of the target company. While that type of leveraged buy-out was not new, Drexel's expertise was in finding wealthy buyers who pledged in advance to buy the bonds if the takeover was successful.

The technique enabled corporate raiders to arrange billions of dollars in financing, resulting in an explosion of takeover activity. In January, 1983, Drexel helped Vancouver's Bellaberg family, for one, raise junk bonds for its \$765-million takeover of Connecticut-based manufacturer Sewell Inc. And Drexel is currently helping New York-based financier Carl Icahn to mount an \$81-billion takeover bid against IBM Corp.—formerly I.B. Seed Corp.

Other Wall Street firms are now scrambling to get into junk bonds, but Drexel still controls about 70 per cent of the market. And although Drexel's executives point out that only about 25 per cent of the money raised through junk bonds is used in takeovers, the firm's activities have made it the target of numerous critics. They argue that it has single-handedly led junk takeover mania in the United States.

Decided rival investment banker P.F. Rahm of New York-based Lazard Freres & Co. "Junk bond financing is creating a scarce society."

Drexel also became the target of criticism last June when one of its managing directors, Dennis Levine, pleaded guilty to four felony charges relating to insider trading. The federal Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) accused Levine of earning \$17.4 million in illegal profits by trading on confidential information—the biggest insider trading case ever uncovered. For its part, Drexel hired an accounting firm, a law firm and a detective agency to examine its security procedures. Last week the SEC announced that Ivan Boesky, a prominent Wall Street speculator, had allegedly profited by using insider information obtained from Levine. The SEC statement said that Boesky had agreed to pay back \$6 million in illegal profits and to pay \$60 million as a penalty.

Drexel's decision to open a Toronto office is one of the most dramatic indications yet of the far-reaching changes that are likely to come after Jan. 1, 1987. That is the date set by Ontario to relax its rules governing entry into the investment industry. Last June, Ontario's minister of financial institutions, Monte Kwinter, said that foreign brokers will be permitted to open their own subsidiaries if the capital of their combined operations does not exceed 30 per cent of the domestic industry's total capital. Since then, two other major foreign firms, Tokyo-based Nomura Securities International Inc., the world's largest investment dealer, and New York's Goldman, Sachs & Co., one of the largest U.S. traders, have announced plans to open Toronto offices.

But Drexel's strategy in Canada—targeting and financing mergers and takeovers—would quickly take it over the permitted capital limit, which amounts to about \$20 million per foreign firm. This week, however, the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) is expected to issue a revised set of guidelines that may exempt certain kinds of financing activities, including junk bonds, from calculations of the allowed capital maximum.

For its part, Drexel Burnham already has links with Canadian business. Among the Canadian companies that have relied on the firm to raise money in the United States are Toronto-based Omni Capital Corp., Rogers Communications Inc. of Toronto, paper manufacturer Kruger Inc. of Montreal, and Calgary-based Finalexco. Toronto Capital Ltd. As well, Paul Desmarais, Power Corp. of Montreal indirectly owns a small part of Drexel Brothers. Last week Allan Gershtein, who heads the mergers and acquisitions depart-

ment at investment dealer Merrill Lynch Canada Inc., said that Drexel's entry would lead to increased competition in the Canadian investment industry. Other experts said that government regulations and corporate buyers restrict most pension funds and many large companies to investing in only top-grade securities. But Lancaster's Burke said that the higher interest rates available from junk bonds would convince even passives to address these restrictive classes. Declared Burke, "Everyone is looking for an edge."

Already, the new interest in Canada

on the part of foreign investment companies in creating a growing demand for Canadians with experience on both Bay Street and Wall Street. Numerous search firms are offering consultants in New York salary packages to move back to Toronto and Montreal. "Lots of people are getting phone calls," said Drexel's Baskin. And there is little doubt that, as Drexel prepares to announce its move into Canada, its own executives are examining the phones.

—MICHAEL SAGNER in Toronto with LARRY BLACK in New York

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A Canadian visionary abroad

By Peter C. Newman

Next month Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris, will also happen to be the prime minister of France, is expected to announce final approval for the renaming of the City of Light's inner core. Chirac's initiative will allow Bill Town, the Canadian designer and builder, and his long-governing associate to begin building a 150-million-square-foot world trade centre in the heart of the French capital, on top of 1.2 km of an eight-lane expressway.

This and a growing shelf of equally imaginative projects have placed Terence's Toronto-based private company in the enviable position of having booked \$1.6 billion in new business during the past 12 months. "We're in an incredibly oversold situation," he told me recently, "but right now the company is negotiating itself and I imagine we'll do some public financing soon. We find it an odd situation that other most Canadian companies are fairly desperate searching for overseas orders, we're hopelessly oversold."

Terac's current work schedule includes the \$350-million Concordia office and apartment complex near the top of Toronto's Don Valley Parkway, a large condominium project on the Florida coast, and a long string of schools, hotels and hospitals he is building in Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and Cameroon.

Terac's associate in bringing to fruition the Paris and French Africa projects was Claude Frenette, an architect, Montreal power broker who once served as president of the Quebec wing of the federal Liberal party and was one of the first influential Quebecers to fight for the federal option. "Canadians are extremely well received overseas," he said, "because they're not a threatening nation—they can offer the best of North American technology, but we're not Americans."

As well as Frenette, Terac has recruited at least four other partners to his firm, which makes his roster of directors and investors read like a roll call of this country's senior Liberal Establishment. There is United Nations undersecretary general Maurice Strong, who knows every head of state (except a Bush's) by his or her first name; Senator Jack Austin, the former deputy minister of energy; Terac's confident and chief British Columbia power broker, whose influence seems to grow no matter who is in office; Hamilton

Southern, the founding director general of Ontario's National Arts Centre and ambassador at large for all things Canadian; and Senator Michael Pridgen, who was the longtime Clerk of the Privy Council and now spends most of his private time in the service of Paul Desmarais' Power Corporation.

There are very few people in this country who genuinely understand how both the public and private sectors really work—and I've got them



Terac dreams in present contexts

all in my company," boasted Terac. "These guys know how to make the connection between public dreams and private capabilities."

Terac himself was born on a Niagara homestead and after dropping out of high school took a menial clerical job with the federal department of transport at \$15 a week. When he quit to work for a private house builder he became intrigued by the notion that size and cost had little to do with good design, and decided to experiment with his own suburban

That was the birth of Kanata, a 3,000-acre community on Ottawa's western outskirts that he created during the mid-1960s. He took nine years to design and build, and it pioneered many new planning and construction techniques. "I moved from designing single houses, then set aside work to successfully complete subdivisions, then I went into total areas," he recalled.

Kanata brought him to the attention of the Liberal government, which appointed him to head the Central Mortgage and Housing Corp. in 1975. "What I'm trying to do now stems directly from those six years. I was at CMHC," he said, "I was able to appreciate the whole process of government and discover the scope and limits of politicians' appetites—the tricks and mortar of political will."

When he resuscitated his current company seven years ago, he took a long-term view of his prospects by beginning with some fundamental research into building techniques, and he eventually came up with a present concrete building-block model that saves time and money and also solves previously complicated stress problems. He has since used the technique to build 2.5 million square feet of housing, plants and office buildings. That same process will be applied in the new Paris projects, but actually getting the job proved to be a long and tough process.

He and Frenette had successfully negotiated a contract to build a hotel complex in front of the famous Chateau Versailles, and that brought their company to Chirac's notice. The project that has brought Terac's company world attention was his idea to cover a remixed expressway which separates the famed Bois de Boulogne wooded area from the centre of Paris. He will perform this huge project using his long-span concrete technology, free of charge, because he has been granted an rights on top of the space. Most of the cover will be new parkland, but the rest of it is where his new world trade centre will be built. It will include at least one five-star hotel and other offices worth about \$750 million.

Terac and his associates have been approached by several other cities to try a similar revitalization of currently wasted space, but the company is moving slowly. "What we have," said Terac, "is the working technology to do the kind of projects that architectural students dream about when they were at school."

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Rhine water: dead fish, damage claims and recovered culprits for tougher laws governing storage of dangerous chemicals

ENVIRONMENT

Death in Europe's grandest river

In Western Europe's most important river, a severe highway 1,200 km long which touches Switzerland, France, West Germany and the Netherlands before discharging its waters into the North Sea. But during the past two weeks the storied Rhine River has been a conduit for up to 30 tons of deadly poisons. The life-threatening mixture leaked into the river after a fire on Nov 1 destroyed a chemical warehouse near Basel, Switzerland. Concerned environment officials from these countries, as well as representatives from Luxembourg and the Brussels-based European Community (EC), gathered for an urgent meeting in Zurich last week. They attempted to assess the long-term effects of the spill—and methods to prevent similar incidents in future. But by then the accident had already killed at least 500,000 fish and eels and forced many communities to stop taking drinking water from the river. And scientists who have spent 10 years restoring the river's fish stocks said that the accident was the worst environmental disaster Europe since a Soviet nuclear reactor malfunctioned last April.

The scientists estimated that 385 km of the river, from Basel to Mainz, West Germany, had suffered serious ecological damage as a result of the spill—including contamination of land along

the river banks and destruction of recently reconstructed trout stocks. But they said they were hopeful that discharge into the North Sea would dilute the mixture of herbicides, pesticides and mercury compounds enough to significantly reduce the threat to fish and other wildlife. And as the 40-km-long chemical slick drifted northward in its 10-day journey to the sea, French authorities closed lock gates to prevent the toxic brew from entering canals and secondary tributaries. At the same time, Dutch officials speeded plans to speed the chemical's passage into the North Sea. But as the spill spread, thousands of residents in use treated as supplies of drinking water, many Rhineval communities erupted in angry protests against the Swiss government and Basel 60, the conglomerate responsible for the accident.

Sandoz is Switzerland's third-largest chemical company. It sells about 86 billion worth of pharmaceutical products, chemicals and coloring agents each year. In medical circles the firm is perhaps best known for its discovery of cyclosporine, a drug used to prevent rejection of transplanted organs. In Basel, where the Sandoz group's companies has its headquarters, the firm is a powerful force in the local economy, employing 1,000 residents in a city of 200,000. But that economic pro-

cess did not shield company officials from verbal and physical abuse during an angry demonstration last week. Protesters interpreted a panel discussion on the incident, pitted municipal and company representatives with dead fish and eels on the face of a Sandoz director.

Company officials who had initially described the spill as relatively small, formally acknowledged the seriousness of the accident last week. They said that the company carried up to \$154 million worth of liability insurance and was prepared to pay compensation for damages caused by the spill. Declared a company general manager, Hans-Peter Sigg: "We have sustained full and complete moral responsibility."

For their part, German, French and Dutch officials said that Swiss authorities' warnings about the massive pollution were grossly inadequate. In response, Swiss President Alois Egli said last week that his country would accept damage claims from affected states, and he promised that Switzerland would increase its scrutiny of the country's giant chemical industry. Swiss authorities plan to begin drilling tests this week to determine how much mercury, lead, cadmium and other toxic metals have been deposited on the riverbed.



Fire at Sandoz warehouse:inking poisons and a deadly poison spreading the abuse

But officials in affected countries have not yet compiled damage estimates. Dutch Public Works Minister Neelke Doorn-Kroes said that the Netherlands had already spent \$240,000 monitoring the effects of the accident and suggested that the damage bill in her country alone would reach several million dollars. And in West Germany, which suffered most from the pollution, spent fisheries in the state of Baden-Württemberg said that they would seek compensation for 88.7 million worth of destroyed fish stocks. Declared West German Environment Minister Wilfried Wolf: "We do not know how damaged the Rhine is, but there is no doubt that there has been serious harm done."

Last April an accident at a railroad facility in Chernobyl in the Ukraine dispersed radioactive dust across northern Europe. Soviet authorities there were slow to provide information to neighboring states. Frustrated with contamination. In the same way, the chemical devastation of the Rhine has sharply dramatized the need for international co-operation on a crowded, heavily industrialized continent. Indeed, in 1978 a poisonous gas leak from a Swiss-owned factory sent 30 residents of Sweden, Italy, to hospital, and prompted 30 countries to draft tougher laws governing the handling and storage of dangerous chemicals.

But only four member countries—Denmark, West Germany, Britain and France—have started laws which had been scheduled to take effect through out the Community by 1984. Switzerland is not as far member, but Swiss government officials said that they were now considering aligning their regulations with the EC's so-called Se-



venia Directive. In Declared EC Environment Committee Chairman David: "In the light of this accident, any excuse for inaction has vanished."

Still, when Swiss firefighters began battling a fire at a Sandoz chemical warehouse shortly after midnight on Nov. 1, they were initially concerned only that clouds of chemical-laden smoke from the burning warehouse posed a threat to the inhabitants of Basel, 10 km to the north. But as they directed their hoses against the blaze, water built up behind a factory retaining wall, then spilled into the Rhine. That flood of polluted water carried with it at least 30 tons of the 1,000 tons of chemicals—mainly agricultural pesticides and fungicides—which had been stored in the warehouse. Sandoz representatives say they have not yet determined the cause of the fire. Police spokesmen said that they were investigating anonymous tips to newspaper and television stations claiming that members of the terrorist organization Red Army Faction were responsible.

Basel firefighters maintained that they had informed local water authorities about the threat to the Rhine at 1:30 a.m. on Nov. 1. But they could not explain why no one immediately passed on the warning to French and West German authorities on the other side of the river. Indeed, it was a West German monitoring station which broadcast the warning. 21 hours after the spill occurred. Declared an environmental spokesman, spokesman: "The Rhine's early-warning system broke down completely."

Within days, thousands of dead fish and eels floating on the river marked the passage of the deadly spill. And last week the 500-ton remains of the killed a West German town 500 km downstream from Basel, were among the people still using drinking water from alternative sources. In Trier the water was supplied by fire trucks working a 24-hour shuttle service between the town and neighboring groundwater supplies. Local hotel and restaurant owners reported a sharp drop in business as tourists quickly left the picturesque community, hamed for its views of vineyard-covered hills and for its local dishes featuring Rhine eels.

The accident in Basel schubert did not impair the Rhine's grandeur, but it ruined a decade-old cleanup effort that was just beginning to show real signs of success. Now, environmentalists will have to intensify their efforts to ensure that the scenic waterway does not regain its reputation as the sewer of Europe.

—MOLLY GRAY with PETER LEWIS in Brussels and correspondence from agents

Rosa Becker's hollow victory



Becker at Franklin-Centre, Greenspan (below) 'don't be sorry about my death'

Rosa Becker's patience finally ran out. Six years after winning a landmark legal decision awarding her the value of half the estate of her former common-law husband, Becker, 60, committed suicide on Nov. 5, having never received a cent of her compensation. Becker had fought since 1974 to share the assets of Lathar Petticoat, 54, with whom she had lived for nearly 28 years, and on Dec. 18, 1980, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in her favor. Its decision should have been worth about \$150,000, plus court costs, to Becker. But legal obstacles prevented her from collecting, and so she shot herself in the forehead with a .22-caliber rifle. Her body was found in her bedroom at a dairy farm in Franklin-Centre, Que., 40 km south of Montreal. She had been working there as a housekeeper, earning \$80 a week. Said Lawrence Greenspan, an Ottawa lawyer whom Becker had hired two months ago to help her: "She had seen a very positive legal decision, and just had absolutely nothing to show for it."

But supporters of women's rights saw the decision as a long overdue recognition of a woman's role in a common-law relationship. In handing down the decision, Mr. Justice Brian Dickson declared: "I am no Isaac Sir-

any distinction, in dividing property and assets, between marital relationships and those more informal relationships which exist for a lengthy period. Mr. Petticoat and Mrs. Becker lived as man and wife for almost 28 years. Their lives and their economic well-being were fully integrated."

Petticoat and Becker began living to-



gether when he moved into her Montreal apartment in 1965. Over the next five years, court testimony showed, she supported him while he saved the money that he earned as a mechanic. In 1968, with \$12,000 in the bank, Petticoat bought a farm in Franklin-Centre and went into the bookkeeping business, using his earnings there to buy a five-

acre property near East Hawkesbury, Ont., in the lower Ottawa Valley, and a house in nearby West Hawkesbury—all in his name.

In 1976 Becker left Petticoat but returned to him later that year at his request. Petticoat agreed to draw up a will that would benefit Becker, give her \$500 a year and established a joint bank account for expenses. But in 1974 Becker left Petticoat again, and shortly after that took him to court. Justice Oran Charrand of Prescott and Russell County Court denied her full compensation—awarding her 40 beehives and \$1,500—saying that her initial financial support of Petticoat was "in the nature of risk capital invested in the hope of achieving a stronger defendant-into marriage"—a ruling which was overturned by then-Ontario Court of Appeal judge Bertha Wilson in 1978. Two years later the Supreme Court of Canada affirmed Wilson's judgment.

But according to Greenspan, Petticoat made it extremely difficult for Becker to receive what she was owed. In 1974 he married and put his property in his wife's name. When two of the properties were finally sold in 1980 for \$68,000, Becker's lawyer at the time, Gerald Langlois, took the money in payment for 11 years' worth of legal fees. Said Langlois: "Petticoat used every legal trick in the forest of the law to evade the award." Petticoat, reached at his home in Hawkesbury, refused to comment.

Greenspan said that he last saw Becker two months ago, and that "she was extremely disheartened." Still, he said that he hoped that the attention drawn to the case will encourage the legal system to take a hard look at itself. Declared Greenspan: "Hopefully, there will be the kind of changes in the law that permit more efficient and fair enforcement of court procedures. Otherwise, it's just a case of justice subverted on paper but in practice denied." Last week, details were revealed of letters that Becker left at her bedside. Writing in German, she told her friends: "Don't be sorry about my death." Her suicide, she explained, was a protest against an unfair legal system, which had deprived her of her rights.

—NORA UNDERWOOD in Toronto

Getting there is half the fun, Charles.

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MEDICINE

Senility in retreat

Their recovery had all the drama of a biblical miracle, but the victims were suffering from an ailment identified only this century—the devastating condition known as Alzheimer's disease. And they were aided not by divine intervention, but by a few pills in what could be an important breakthrough in treatment of the debilitating condition.

Dr. William Summers of the University of California at Los Angeles gave 17 subjects the experimental drug tetrahydropyridine (THA), and 16 of them experienced significant recoveries. One man, who was so incapacitated that he could barely speak, not only talked but even took up golf again. Another, less severely affected by the disease, resumed part-time work. Others who took the pills remembered their own names and recognized their families for the first time since slipping into senility. Although the testing was limited, no other treatment has ever shown such potential. "If this is validated," said Summers, "I think we will have our first viable treatment for Alzheimer's."

Summers's findings, which were published in last week's edition of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, are the signpost of a crucial 1983 discovery of how Alzheimer's affects the brain. At the time, researchers found that the disease impaired the brain's ability to make acetylcholine, one of several chemicals known as neurotransmitters, which help carry messages between nerve endings in the brain. Since then, they have experimented with several compounds designed to replace the missing acetylcholine and some have shown promise. But none of them has produced results comparable to those achieved with THA, which, according to Summers, helps the acetylcholine that remains in the body to work more effectively.

But Summers emphasized that the drug cannot be considered a cure for Alzheimer's disease. Indeed, an editorial in the *Journal* called the THA treatment "ultimately flawed" because it attacks a symptom—the depletion of acetylcholine—rather than the cause of the disease, the still-unknown process that destroys the brain cells producing the chemical. Summers said that although the drug could prove highly effective in reversing and preventing memory loss, the disease will continue to progress "underneath the medication." He added, "I expect that toward the end there

will be more or less a sudden collapse."

One leading Canadian Alzheimer's researcher, Dr. Arthur Daiton of Toronto's Sunny Place Centre, a provincial government facility for the developmentally handicapped, said that the announcement "gives no reason for optimism at this time." Still, Daiton

In its first trial, the experimental drug THA proved almost miraculously effective against Alzheimer's disease

noted that the replacement of missing chemicals has proven successful with other diseases, especially Parkinson's disease, which can be controlled with the chemical levodopa. He speculated that, because Alzheimer's leads to the depletion of several other chemical transmitters in addition to acetylcholine, doctors may one day be able to

suppress or reverse its symptoms by using a combination of chemicals including THA.

The announcement highlighted the success of a nationwide effort in the United States to find a cure for Alzheimer's, which is believed to affect five to 10 per cent of people over 65. In the past three years, Washington has committed \$207 million to Alzheimer's research, compared to only \$606,000 in Canada over the same period. One result, according to Daiton, is that Canada may lose its leading role in Alzheimer's research, and several Canadian scientists are leaving the country. Daiton himself will be out of Canada for at least a year to conduct a major Alzheimer's study at the Institute for Basic Research in New York.

In the meantime, Summers's THA research is at an impasse. The drug was first discovered in 1960, and no firm currently holds a patent on its use. The extensive tests necessary to have it licensed for general use are costly, and no company has expressed a willingness to finance them. But if the U.S. research drive continues at its current pace, it is almost certain that that difficulty will be swept away, and that at least some future victims will be granted a reprieve.

—JOHN BARBER in Toronto

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The Boss is back—with vinyl vengeance

The world of pop music can be roughly divided into those who have attended a Bruce Springsteen concert and those who have not. The intimated lead to regard Springsteen as rock 'n' roll's redoubt saint, prophet and folk hero for several generations at once. But those who have heard Springsteen only on record sometimes wonder what all the fuss is about. Live performance has always been the key to the Springsteen legend: his marathon concerts are the Italian novels of rock 'n' roll's serial literature. But for more than a decade they remained unpublished under the cold confines of the bootleg recording industry (page 58). Last week's long-awaited release of Springsteen's first live album—in fact, a set of five live, three cassette and three compact disc—marks a momentous event, both for his fans and for a record industry eagerly anticipating the Christmas market.

The Boss is back—not in the funk, but in vinyl. And, after only a week, sales of the five-disc box have surpassed some of the frenzy that surrounded the singer's 1985 world tour. Titled *Street Band Live/1975-43*, the boxed set won gold status in Canada one week before it went on sale last Monday because CBS Records had shipped advance orders of 20,000 copies. By week's end, as fans lined up at stores, CBS had orders for another 10,000 copies. The album is expected to outstrip sales for any boxed set in the history of the recording industry. CBS executives say they expect to sell half a million copies in Canada alone, where it is retailing at ranging from \$38 to \$50. The CBS pressing plant in Toronto is so busy, said one company official, that "they are pulling other girls onto the shop floor just to get the records into boxes." In the United States CBS has already shipped two million album sets—adding up to 10 million units—in Springsteen's home state of New Jersey; the rush has delayed a scheduled launch of 200 pressing plants in the type of Pittsburgh-area recordist considering that blue-collar un-

employment is such a prevalent theme in Springsteen's music.

The complete package—which includes song lyrics, photographs and a copy of a scrawled letter from the Boss—is an awfully large box of merchandising from an artist who built his

samples of the singer's onstage storytelling. Studio engineers have electronically enhanced all of the music to produce a sound that is existentially clear for live-performance recordings and has been worn in audience sounds, capturing the illusion of a continuous 24-hour concert.

Although the album is, in the words of one CBS executive, "a big-ticket item," it shows Springsteen more as a performer than a musician. And he seems to have used the album as an opportunity to correct popular misconceptions of his political views. The Stars-and-Stripes imagery of his previous albums, Born in the U.S.A., led many Americans to misjudge Springsteen as an icon of militant patriotism. By releasing a version of Edwin Starr's 1970 hit *War* as the first single from the boxed set, Springsteen has dramatically clarified his stance. An anxious song deluged with blistering raps, it is preceded by a monologue about his generation's role in the Vietnam War. "Blind faith in your leaders or anything," warns Springsteen, "is going to get you killed." And as a prelude to *The River*, he delivers a teaching story about his confusion as a long-haired teenager with his father, who used to say, "I can't wait till the army gets you." The tale culminates with his father to pass his military physical—and his father's unexpected relief.

Musically, too, the album portrays Springsteen as more romantic than conservative. It includes aggressive, full-blooded versions of recent hits, including a performance of Born in the U.S.A., in which songstress outgrows the beatnik of the studio release. The song's stunning guitar break becomes an apocalyptic war of sound that recalls Jasi Hender's booming-band rendition of the Star-Spangled Banner. Springsteen's exclamation of *Red* becomes palpable in *Cover Me*, which opens with rhythmic echoes of lyrics in *Smoke-like* fragments.

But much of the music conveys a sense of alienation and charm that is often absent on Springsteen's studio recordings. A stark, acoustic perfor-

mance spell that, when it ends, the on-scene roar of 20,000 people in New Jersey's Meadowlands Arena comes as a complete shock. As the album follows Springsteen chronologically from 1975 to 1986, he seems progressively more relaxed, despite the constant strain of the audiences. Eight of the early numbers are taken from a single 1975 concert at the Flax in Los Angeles, where individual clips, cries and comments from the audience are still clearly audible. By 1985 the crowd noise has become an undifferentiated storm, rising and falling on the winds of collective approval.

As well as capturing the exuberance of the Boss in concert, Springsteen Live serves as a documentary self-portrait. For new fans who discovered the singer only with Born in the U.S.A., it provides a balanced reprieve of his music. The songs range from the backstreet world of *Spirit in the Night* to the open road of Woody Guthrie's *My Two Lovers* to *You Love Her*. Guthrie's song is one of seven numbers that Springsteen has not previously released on an album. Others include a playful version of *Pine*, the Springsteen song that became a hit for the Pointer Sisters, and a poignant rendering of Tom Waits' *Jerry Girl*. The album features one new Springsteen composition, *Send a*, a rock item graced with the visceral anger of Houston's migrant oil workers. "Tents pitched on the highway in the dirty moonlight/And I don't know where I'm gonna sleep tonight/Paraded in the backcountry freedom/our asses off/My kids in the backseat got a graveyard cough."

That Nash vision is far removed from the glittery, star-studded world where the Springsteen package is a contender for the Christmas market. Aside from everything else, the new album is a commodity on a vast scale. Its release last Monday occurred simultaneously around the world. Although it is available in three formats, an unusually large proportion of buyers have opted for the 39-gram, 100-gram, 100-gram of sales and marketing for CBS Canada. "Collectors like the fact that they are physically getting more with five albums than with three cassette." Clearly, the Jersey boy who faded his army stripes turt has matured into a highly physical presence in North America. On the cover of the boxed set, pictured in last profile, he appears to be aiming on the spot, with his guitar slung and his hand like a rifle at rest—rock 'n' roll's most celebrated foot soldier.

—BRAND D. JOHNSON with JIM WALSHLEY in Toronto

Defying the bootleggers

Bruce Springsteen has struck a blow for law and order. Until last week all his record albums were the well-trodden products of stable recording sessions. That made the Boss a favorite target of bootleggers—audio pirates who capture the raw energy of his famed live performance by surreptitiously recording them and manufacturing albums. Thus, bypassing royalty payments, they distribute the music

frauds were notorious for their poor, distorted audio quality. Now the records often appear in colorful boxes complete with song lyrics and even soccer T-shirts. Many match the sophistication of studio-produced recordings on major labels. Despite these improvements, the bootleg industry faces troubled times.

Springsteen is only one reason. Strictly live enforcement has pushed the one-to-one open trade under the cover of independent record stores and into the more shadowy world of mail-order catalogues. And the bootlegging has been average single-album bootlegs sell for about \$30. The more elaborate, multi-record sets can cost as much as \$204. Said Ben Hoffman, president of The Record Problem, a Toronto retailer who once sold bootlegs but has since renounced them: "Most of the people still in the market are dedicated fans."

Certainly, some bootleggers are dedicated capitalists who are underwritten by the fans they may receive under fraud and copyright infringement laws. Others are professional technicians who record directly at concerts and then sell to bootleg manufacturers. And still others are greedy fans who record concerts on associated tape cassette recorders.

But bootleggers are produced in Canada. In fact, one major Canadian fan underground was filled by an April 1985 raid on a warehouse just north of Toronto, where police seized 10,000 Springsteen albums. The only live bootleg ever produced in substantial numbers in Canada. The *Prosecco Live* consisted of several hundred copies pressed in Vancouver and sold privately for as much as \$500.

Because of police crackdowns, the bootleggers have shifted operations from North America to Europe, particularly Germany, and to the Far East. North American pirates are now turning their sights on more challenging quarry—bootleg video cassettes. "It is difficult to believe that someone could get away with videotaping performances," says William "Duke" Dineen, a list of fanatics who will try anything. After Springsteen's own live releases, they will be facing tough competition.

—BRUCE WALSH in Toronto



Springsteen capturing legendary concert performance



Hoffman: 'Unauthorized Dubs and Masters'



Glass Tiger at Juno, banking on image through videos and undogmatic hits

Rock's road to success

Last Member hit Canadian rock fans with a double dose of grit and glitter. After lining up at record stores to buy Bruce Springsteen's new five-record epic of workday-class rock, many settled down to watch the televised parade of nominees and seized moments at Canada's 1996 Juno Awards. And although Springsteen is still the underdog boss of rock, the Canadian recording industry's awards night celebrated the arrival of its newest young stars—Glass Tiger. The five-member pop group from Newmarket, Ont., walked away with three coveted Junos—most promising group, best single and best album—just one year after they released their debut recording, *The Thin Red Line*. Their award-winning single, "Don't Forget Me (When I'm Gone)," was Canada's top international single this year, reaching No. 2 on the *Billboard* charts last month. But behind the band's apparent fairy-tale success lies a revealing story of the music industry's inner workings—what a Joni Mitchell lyric calls "the star-machine machinery behind the popular song."

Last year the Canadian machine generated \$600 million worth of record sales, or about one-tenth of the U.S. volume. But producing three discs has become more expensive than ever, largely due to the advent of rock videos as promotional tools. An album of

international standards now costs at least \$100,000 to produce and is usually accompanied by two or three videos at a price of as much as \$30,000 each. Admitted Robert Roper, artists and repertoire manager for *Wax Music*, "Videos have doubled the cost of making records. The other end of the equation is that we sign fewer acts." Canadian acts find the increasingly costly marketing campaign a mixed blessing. Although it is harder to win a record contract, the lucky groups that do get signed stand a better chance of gaining international exposure.

Playing under the name *Tiloko*, Glass Tiger spent three years in the wilderness at the bar circuit before they won the elusive contract. Headed drummer Michael Hanson, "Every weekend we would lose more money. We had to wheel and deal to get our equipment without it." The turning point came two years ago, when Derek Suttan, who manages the group's American and international business, got them a job as the opening act for the British pop group Culture Club at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. Performing before an audience of 16,000 was good for prestige but was not especially profitable. Said Hanson, "I think we each got paid \$30 after the gig." Still, it convinced Capital Records' vice-president of talent acquisition and artist development, Deane Cameron—who had been introduced to

the band by its Canadian manager, Gary Fritz—to sign *Tiloko* and to start producing the band for international stardom.

Image starts with a name. Capital persuaded the band to drop *Tiloko* because, said Cameron, "the whole Japanese thing was overdone." They chose Glass Tiger as a tougher variation of Paper Tiger, another name that had been suggested. The next step was to find songs with hit potential, so Capital turned to Bryan Adams's songwriting partner, Jim Vallance, for composing and arranging. The resulting *Thin Red Line* album was a smash \$185,000 affair, supplemented by four videos. Total cost for videos: \$200,000. It was quickly rewarded by a massive sale. Capital's investment is already paying off: the album has sold 255,000 copies in Canada and 300,000 in the United States.

But only after recording companies have recouped their production expenses as a record do artists see dividends. That means an album with costs comparable to *Thin Red Line* must sell as many as 400,000 copies before musicians reap rewards. Said Hanson, "We haven't seen any money yet, per se. I don't know how much, but I hope they're making it all still in the pipeline."

For their part, recording companies depend on hit records to cover losses incurred as unsuccessful releases. Said Capital's Cameron, "You can't imagine how much money each year goes right out the window." This business is more chance than going to the track with your psychics. Canadian artists who establish themselves in the U.S. market on their first album—as Glass Tiger did—are a rare commodity. Indeed, superstar Bryan Adams released two albums on sale before achieving significant U.S. sales on his third and fourth. Said Bruce Robertson, president of the Canadian Recording Industry Association, "Just probably involved well over a million dollars in *before* before they saw the return as it was can see the risk element there."

Glass Tiger now faces the challenge of duplicating the success of *Thin Red Line*. Meanwhile, another Juno award winner, folk legend Gordon Lightfoot—who won the 1994 Hall of Fame Award—may never make another record again because of his declining sales. In the relentlessly competitive music industry, the tastes of the large, younger record-buying public dominate. Often, artists whose appeal lies outside the teenage mainstream might as well be—as Springsteen sings—"standing in the dark."

—DANIELA YOUNG with ANDY SHREVEILL and RUTH ATHERTON in Toronto

RESIST THE USUAL

TASTE THE REWARDS

TEACHER'S
HIGHLAND CREAM
SCOTCH WHISKY

Death from the air

Two years ago state officials in Michigan approved construction of one of the world's largest municipal incinerators, a massive plant which will begin serving the city of Detroit in 1990. But they did so on the basis of data which, through a serious miscalculation, underestimated the poisonous emissions likely to blanket large areas of the city and surrounding area. The airborne pollution would also pose a threat to Windsor, Ont., because parts of that city are located only five kilometres southeast of the plant's smokestack. Members of Ontario environmentalist groups say that the incinerator needs \$77 million worth of additional equipment in order to reduce the pollution threat. But Ottawa has not received any guarantee that the U.S. government will honour bilateral agreements on pollution and force the city to install the needed technology. Scott Kai Millyard, a researcher at Pollution Probe, a Toronto-based non-governmental group, "That there could be at least 11 lb of poison going straight

into the Southern Ontario breadbasket each year is completely horrifying."

Environment officials in both Canada and the United States say that they are particularly concerned about emissions of dioxin—extremely deadly poisons—from an inadequately equipped plant capable of burning at

'That there could be 11 lb. of poison going straight onto the Southern Ontario breadbasket each year is horrifying'

most 4,000 tons of garbage each day. Indeed, several Canadian government studies have shown that garbage-burning is the single largest source of dioxin in the environment. And because of the original error in calculation, John Stucke, a spokesman for the Ontario Ministry of the Environment, said that

the risks of dying from cancer could be at least 30 times greater than first estimated. That misdeed occurred while a Michigan state employee calculated emissions in micrograms—one-millionth of a gram—instead of milligrams—one-thousandth of a gram.

Still, rectifying that error has proved to be difficult. For one thing, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials attempted to stop construction of the \$60-million project by ordering Michigan to revoke the building permit until better pollution equipment was installed. But on Oct. 21 Detroit Federal court Judge Barbara Hackett dismissed their request on the grounds that the EPA had missed several opportunities to review the permit. For their part, Michigan officials have said that Detroit will not be allowed to operate the incinerator if the plant cannot meet the state's clean-air guidelines. Those guidelines would not allow the occurrence of more than one or two additional cancer cases per million people exposed to the incinerator's emissions—a conclusion of considerable interest to Canadians living near the site. Declared Jeffrey Ward, "Dioxins are light and travel long distances. Canadians will probably face a greater risk than Detroit residents."

—SARA UNDERWOOD in Toronto

A mobster and his molls

PRIZEN FAMILY

By Richard Condon
(General Publishing, 284 pages, \$27.95)

Charley Partanna is a mobster, a Mafia M8 man who hangs off thumb for a living. In *Prizen's Family*, the latest of Richard Condon's black comedies about the fictional Brooklyn mob, Charley is required to liquidate close friends in defence of the clan's honor. No problem: Charley sees his duty clearly. As in the earlier best-seller, *Prizen's Honor* (for which Condon also wrote the screenplay), Charley demonstrates that within his own ruthless moral code he is utterly reliable, a Berlin straight arrow wearing double-crossing trousers. For that, men fear and admire him. But in *Prizen's Family*, it is women who real-

ly count. And where women are concerned, Charley has jobs where he should have brains.

Condon pitilessly demands the larger society that permits a creature like Charley Partanna, in himself, is personified by the morally degenerate New York mayoralty candidate George F. Mallon, a mafia/fixer with a head made of neuroticism. Initially, Mallon campaigns "against everything New Yorkers stand for—corruption, prostitution, high-cost luxury housing and racism." Quickly and easily, the mob intimidates, corrupts and accepts him.

But in *Prizen's Family*, set before the events of *Prizen's Honor*, the predictable violence of the book exists simply as a backdrop for two of the most memorable female characters in recent American fiction. Marlene, a

secondary character in *Prizen's Honor*, is the daughter of Mafia boss Vincent Prizen, and a reluctant Mafia boss in her own right. Her rival for Charley is Mordell La Toor, a scatterbrained state who is charming as a show girl in the underworld to provide much-needed material for a friend's misadventure.

The two women surpass all their manipulative skills in their battle for Charley's affections. While Marlene needs him to strengthen her power within the mob, Mordell persuades him for an ethical experience. Reconciling between the two, Charley cannot believe his luck. In bed with the spectacularly contoured Mordell, he recalls a television documentary about moonshining. And, making love to Marlene is an experience that Charley likes to "being locked in a mudbug with 11 lbs. constraints."

Although Charley the hit man is scarcely more than a cartoon character, he is hilariously believable and sympathetic as a befuddled code tyrant to choose between two women. Condon's comic ingenuity lifts this *Prizen's Family* above the level of conventional potboiler. And brimming with ideas, Condon clearly sees Marlene as the Prizen of the future. Charley will have to watch his step.

—DON CRAMING



Condon: ruthless code

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The Supremes with Wilson (seated) wife, high heels, manjano and the Beatles

Nothing but heartaches

DREAMGIRL, MY LIFE
 AS A SUPREME

By Mary Wilson
 (McNair, 228 pages, \$25.95)

They were four black girls from Detroit's suburban housing projects. But by the height of their fame in the mid-1960s, they had dropped themselves in ankle-length furs, cowboy boots and designer gowns. Such hit songs as "Where Did Our Love Go" and "Stop Love" turned the Supremes—Diana Ross, Florence Ballard and Mary Wilson—into the best-known female group of the decade. Wilson recalls that metamorphosis in *Dreamgirl, My Life as a Supreme*, but her prose is as glamorous as her vocals were. With the assistance of two ghostwriters, what should have been a gripping tale of glitzy success—and bitter nightingale—rarely rises above the fatuous myth-making of the group's own press releases.

Wilson leads her book with repetition and the kind of minute detail that only biographies of major figures can justify. Still, readers who penetrate beyond the swamy prologue and prologue will find a few rewards. The group's career, from its 1962 debut record, "I Want a Guy," to the 1970 three-album boxed set, *Parade*, provides insights into Motown Records, a whysong of 1960s musical energy. Motown was the Detroit label dominated by Berry Gordy Jr., a failed songwriter and business genius, whose stable of artists included Marvin

Gaye, Stevie Nicks and Martha and the Vandellas.

Unfortunately, Wilson seems oblivious to the turbulent backdrop of the decade and to the significance of black music's growing appeal to white audiences. Instead, she focuses almost obsessively on petty dressing-room politics. She summarizes the theme of Ross's overweening ambition and eventual ego, yet refuses to let it repeatedly. Her portrait of Gordy is generally laudatory, although she does note his habit of griping or royalties and suggests that Ross became his favorite Supreme for reasons other than her voice.

Vignettes of other stars, including Renee Wonder and the Beatles, add some interest. "Little House," blind and barely 30 years old, surrounded Gordy during his sojourns by successively playing keyboards, horns, percussion and harmonies. And Wilson recalls visiting the Beatles in a New York hotel. Adrift on clouds of marijuana, they found the Supremes, in their high heels, wigs and furs, a lit "square."

The book's photographic portfolio, which includes a shot of the trio at Martin Luther King Jr.'s funeral, is a welcome addition. But many fans will probably be satisfied with newspaper excerpts from the book. Thus, *Dreamgirl's* maslin of record-jacket promotional material may get the editing it desperately needs.

—LENNY GREEN

Grey skies of the heart

A MISALLIANCE

By Anita Brookner
 (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 232 pages, \$22.95)

At her best, British novelist Anita Brookner can lead her characters from dank despair to sudden insight, with the inhibitory effect of a seafront. In *Hotel du Lac*, the novel that earned her the 1984 Booker McConnell prize, her heroine was a shy English novelist who fled to Switzerland in escape a raised marriage, only to be greeted by a miserable climate and a hotel room the unappealing color of dried seal. In fact, weather also mirrors the interior turmoil of Blanche Bruns, heroine of Brookner's latest work, *A Misalliance*. Although the writing is luminous, Brookner is working with the same palette, dividing human behavior into black and white against a depressingly grey background.

The world, to Brookner, is a cup-pies, Christmas and papers, given and taken, "the good and the indifferent." Blanche, a middle-aged housewife, discovers that her husband has left her for a younger woman. Trudging through her days, Blanche looks



Brookner covering upsets, loneliness

for things to do—hospital volunteer work, shopping, coffee with her cleaning lady and visits to London's National Gallery, where absorbing naps on canvas mock her with vague smiles. Mostly, she develops a friendship with the wine bottle. The daughter of a busy mother, she has always taken a subversive position—and now faces no far into the midweek that she risks losing her identity altogether.

Finally, Blanche makes a last valiant attempt to find meaning in her life, forming an uneasy friendship with a three-year-old girl—who refuses to speak—and with the child's violent stepmother. But in the end, Blanche finds it impossible to live her life through others.

Brookner superbly captures her characters' subtle shifts of mood with writing that is by turns delicate and sharp, witty and plaintive. "I know about lonely children," Blanche tells a friend at one point. "Some people are lonely children all their lives." But Brookner told much the same story in *Hotel du Lac*. Brilliantly written as *A Misalliance* is, there remains something mostly about it. Despite her gift for finding drama in the commonplace, she has clearly outgrown the limits of that emotional territory.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

The language of lust

HENRY AND JUNE FROM
THE UNKUPURATED DIARY
By Ann Nix
(Harvard Brace Journalism,
274 pages, \$19.95)

Henry Miller's lion has long been fascinated by the novelist's relationship to the *French-bore* writer Ann Nix. Until the appearance of these diary excerpts, it was known only that she helped finance the original Paris publication of Miller's rambling classic *Tropic of Cancer* and that she was a kindred spirit of the avant-garde. But given Miller's lusty reputation, a mystery remained: were the two lovers? Miller, uncharacteristically reticent, never said. Now, in *Henry and June*, Nix removes every shadow of conceivable doubt: Her post-borneo diaries constitute an exceptional depiction of two leading celebrities of the sexual revolution in action.

When Nix and Miller met in Paris in 1931, he was living the tough, countercultural life embraced in *Tropic of Cancer*. She, leading a comfortable but suffocating existence in the Paris suburb of Levallois-sur-Meuse with her

bowler-hatted husband, Hugo, felt what she described as "the need of agony." Miller, she found, was "Yankeeish, virile, animal, masculine—the truest genius I have ever known." Still, she saved her initial infatuation for Miller's wife, the beautiful June, to whom she was attracted for her "hardness, her cruelty, her egoism."

Complimenting Nix on her eroticism, Miller observed, 'You could have 10 lovers a day and handle them all!'

her perversions, her demonic destructiveness." June was also street-smart, observing to Miller, "Annals was just bored with her life so she took as my 'Wife' June sailed back to New York. Miller and Nix began meeting. Before long, their countercultural turn into stream-of-consciousness love-making sessions. Afterward, Nix returned home to her credulous husband, convincing him that the de-

telled journal she was keeping about the affair was a work of fiction.

Henry and June is remarkably free of sexist descriptions of ultra-masculine female sexuality. Complimenting Nix on her erotic accomplishments, Miller once told her, "I believe you could have 10 lovers a day and handle them all." And she admitted, "It is like a forest fire to be with him. New places in my body are aroused and burst." But Nix came to understand that the novelist's gossipish pen marked an essential underside. By the book's end there is no doubt about who was the tougher of the two. "There is really nothing crazy about Henry," observed a disappointed Nix, "except his forthright writing." Meanwhile, Miller, wildly in love, wanted Nix to marry him. But she refused to leave her comfortable home to share his bohemian splendor. June eventually returned to Paris, and all three resumed friends.

Unsettled and restless, the diaries record a great deal about a crucial period in the life of a major American writer. And they offer a fearless account of what risky goes on in the lives of modern men and women. Although written in the early 1930s, *Henry and June* is a revealing glimpse of the darker side of contemporary bedroom politics.

—NORMAN DENKER

PRISONS

New York's floating jail

New York City's Staten Island ferry is famous for offering a harbor tour and a view of the Statue of Liberty during a 90-cent round-trip shuttle between Manhattan and the island. But early next year one boat, a converted Staten Island ferry, will offer a view that goes no photograph. It is an attempt to relieve overcrowding in local jails, civic authorities are converting the boat into a floating brig that will house 162 prisoners at a time.

In the past 16 years the number of new prison cells has not kept pace with the increase in the city's jail population, fed lately by an intensified police campaign against drug dealers and users. And the ailing crackdown has helped produce a 10-percent increase in police arrest totals during the past year. Now, the New York City system holds about 14,000 inmates—at least 1,000 more than capacity. The overcrowding is particularly severe at Rikers Island, the city's main prison complex on an East River site near La Guardia Airport. The seven buildings currently hold about 11,000 inmates, roughly two-thirds of them detainees awaiting trial for crimes ranging from car theft to murder. And a controversial court ruling has made it difficult for authorities to house prisoners in an already overcrowded system. For one thing, it sets a strict cap at 40 inmates who have not been convicted of any crime but are in jail awaiting trial. But that prohibition does not apply to sentenced inmates, and officials have placed as many as 85 convicts—including felons awaiting transfer to state penitentiaries for serious crimes—in dormitories which usually hold about 50.

Floating prisoners on a ferry secured to a dock on the island has generated opposition from lawyers active in the local branch of the state's Legal Aid Society. Declared Theodore Kutt, the director of the society's Prisoners' Rights project, "It is difficult to see how they could provide requirements for safe and secure shelter, recreational services, food services and sanitation requirements—and make these

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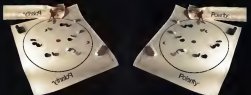
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The current overcrowding stems in part from two landmark federal district court rulings delivered in New York in 1980 and 1981. They required authorities to provide 60 square feet of space for prisoners awaiting trial. They were made in response to a class action filed five years earlier on behalf of federal inmates citing U.S. constitutional prohibitions against punishment of detainees. The inmates were seeking adequate space in confinement, and in 1980 U.S. district court Judge Morris Lasker rejected a motion by city officials to modify these standards. As a result, prison officials had to set free 600 detainees. But the prisons are still full, and jail officials say that overcrowding is a significant factor in recent outbreaks of violence. They say that dangers of guards and inmates have been repaired in such disturbances during the past three months. Declared one senior prison official: "It's a jail where everyone has to prove himself a man. The state prisoners—who are used to cells, not dormitories—are vicious and afraid of each other."

City officials say that they may turn two other former into floating jails and use them to house about 500 prisoners, if the conversion process is successful. But they acknowledge that a prison cell is only a partial solution to the problem of overcrowding. To that end, they have plans to build prison dormitories containing 800 beds by next spring. And Koch says that he hopes that state officials will accept his proposal calling for the construction of two new state prisons in upstate New York, just south of the Canadian border.

Meanwhile, officials say that a 60-day sitting will render the Private Joseph P. Merrill—named for a Staten Island resident who was cited for heroism during the Second World War—both safe and secure in its new role as a prison ship. They maintain that the bronchion waters swirling around the boat and the sheer sides of the enclosed ferry will make escape attempts extremely difficult. And they say that the prison guards who will work aboard the converted ferry will receive training for such emergencies as the boat breaking free from its moorings—or sinking. Although Koch claims credit for first thinking of floating prisons, the concept has been used before in New York City. During the U.S. War of Independence more than 11,000 revolutionary soldiers and is the squander of 12 British prison ships anchored near the city. Koch says that he does not envision such a dire punishment for lawbreakers.

—LARRY BLACK in New York City



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Security in a wired world

The roof of the Soviet Embassy in Washington bristles with antennas, and their function is no secret. According to former FBI counterespionage agent Barry Fried, the Soviet diplomats "listen to everything, from secretaries discussing their schedules to generalizing defence contracts." With the proliferation of computers that use the telephone system to transmit messages, and that system's increasing reliance on satellite links, such information is becoming much easier to gather. In fact, spy watchers estimate that 88 to 90 per cent of the intelligence information used by the United States is gathered not by human agents directly, but electronically. That is one reason why Washington recently launched a major project designed to secure the capital's wired world against similar Soviet intrusions. Said Walter Dealey, the National Security Agency's deputy director for communications security: "This effort could cost billions of dollars, but is worth every penny of it."

The effort had no suspicious debut



Moynihan, trying to wire spies

last month when Washington applied to Soviet diplomats, severely crippling the Soviets' ability to gather signals intelligence. But in fact, pressure to create the security of official communications had been building for some time. Last year Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York called on the administration to expel Soviet spies "one at a time, one per day." He said that the United States is especially vulnerable because 90 per cent of long-distance telephone calls travel at least part of their routes on microwave or satellite transmission paths, and the interception of messages in the air is far easier to accomplish and far harder to detect than the interception of messages sent by underground cable. Adding to U.S. vulnerability is the dramatic increase in the number of computers used by the federal government—to 200,000, up from 22,000 three years ago—as well as the devices, called modems, that allow the modems to communicate through the telephone system. Added Moynihan: "The Soviets have the potential to have it all."

The new countermeasures are being spearheaded by the National Security Agency (NSA), the largest and most mysterious of all U.S. agencies, whose existence remained secret until it was revealed in the left-wing magazine *Ramparts* in 1972. The agency's primary role is to intercept the electronic messages of other nations and to protect sensitive American national security information. But in May, 1984, President Ronald Reagan ordered the NSA to assume the lead role in protecting the messages of such civilian government agencies as the agriculture department and the Internal Revenue Service. The decision came after the agency presented the White House with a report claiming that the Soviets were "systematically eavesdropping on the nation's telephone and data networks" from their embassy in Washington, operational facilities in Long Island, the San Francisco consulate and a station in Cuba.

The NSA's new five-year program to secure America against Soviet eavesdroppers is also aimed at major U.S. businesses, which the agency is trying to persuade to purchase coding equipment. The effort centres on defence contractors, but also includes grain dealers, banks and stockbrokers. Several years ago the NSA speculated that the Soviet government was able to conduct a highly successful grain deal with the United States because of information it had obtained by eavesdropping on U.S. grain dealers. Since then, according to sources in the intelligence community, International Business Machines Corp. has installed



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equipment and procedures to encode its sensitive information and most of the oil industry has done likewise, although the companies will not comment on the practice.

At this point, the federal government has agreed to spend \$6 million up to the end of this decade on three major projects to stump Soviet eavesdroppers. One of the projects trains NSA security experts with 12 leading computer and communications companies in order to develop a device, code-named "Gillaro" after a kind of trout found in Ireland, that will scramble and unscramble information transmitted between personal computers, making it almost impossible to intercept.

The device should be available next year at a cost of about \$1,000 each.

The second project will provide federal officials with 500,000 telephones that are secure against electronic eavesdropping. NSA spokesmen say



U.S. communications technician scrambling information

that U.S. security is especially jeopardized by a current shortage of secure scramble telephones and also by officials who are too impatient to use them. The agency will not say how many secure phones the government

own has, but one General Services Administration estimate puts the figure as low as 500. And officials remember with horror the incident in October last year when an amateur radio operator overheard President Ronald Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger discussing plans to intercept an Egyptian airplane carrying the hostages of the Achille Lauro cruise ship. The two men were in separate planes when their conversation took place.

Last year the NSA issued a \$60-million contract for the development of smaller, cheaper and easier-to-use scrambler telephones. The work, undertaken by RCA Corp., Motorola Inc. and American Telephone and Telegraph Co., is well advanced, and the first machines should be ready next year. They will work by translating a voice into digital signals and scrambling their sequence so that speech sounds like meaningless noise to an eavesdropper. In addition, each set will be capable of unscrambling signals. The process works so fast that neither party to the conversation will be aware of any delay. The agency said that the old-style secure phones cost about \$12,500 each, while the new ones will be about \$1,500.

The third aspect of the NSA plan, called the Data Network Security Project, is proving controversial. The project is aimed at developing a new, tougher coding system for computer data. Due to be phased in beginning in January, 1988, it will be used by all government agencies and, by necessity, by all private firms that deal regularly with them. But the security agency would control nearly all of the coding procedure and might have exclusive access to the computer programming that produces the codes to decipher the messages. Said Robert Courtney, a former data security specialist at IBM who now runs a private security consulting service: "Effectively, it will give the NSA much more access to data than the agency has today. You could interpret it as an effort to increase security, or you could interpret it as a power play."

But even if the initiatives do result in an excessive concentration of power at the agency's Fort Meade, Md., headquarters, they will probably also help stave off the electronic hemorrhage of sensitive information NSA easily hands. And for the security-conscious Reagan administration, achieving that goal is clearly worth the risks involved.

—WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

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BOOKS

A forbidden passion

THE ENCHANTER

By Vladimir Nabokov

(General Publishing, 127 pages, \$17.95)

In 1866 Vladimir Nabokov shocked the literary world with the publication of *Invitation of a Lady*, a superb novel about a middle-aged man's infatuation with a 18-year-old girl. The book was an immediate success to what Nabokov called "the perfect magic of nymphets," written in a high-flown yet precise style that bore witness to the exiled Russian writer's passionate love affair with the English language. Critics still debate whether *Invitation* describes old Europe seducing young America or young America seducing old Europe. But almost all agree that the novel deals with spiritual love as well as physical desire. Now, nine years after Nabokov's death, his son Dmitri has translated *The Enchanter*, a spare, short novel that Nabokov wrote in Russian while living in Paris during the early years of the Second World War. As Nabokov himself admitted, the book was "the first little throb of *Invitation*."

The *Enchanter* concentrates on a middle-aged Frenchman's hungry passion for an ethereal young girl of about 18. The man's obsessive, background and beliefs—even the characters' names—remain a mystery. Instead, Nabokov explores the growth of an illicit desire that comes to dominate the man's life, leading him to marry the girl's mother, a wise and motherly woman who gains access to the girl herself. Although he tries to enchain the nymph with a mixture of kindness and authority, he is the enchanted one, in the grip of a monstrous yearning.

The great strength of *The Enchanter*, manifest even in translation, is the flair with which Nabokov blends language to the demands of emotion. Riddling with repulsive from the girl's mother, he describes her as a "broad-lipped lady, with a hairless wart near a nostril

of her heinous nose." By contrast, he depicts the girl lyrically—"warm-skinned, roses-scented, open-lipped." Nabokov uses language itself to enchain, giving moral distance against erotic delights. He spins the reader into a web of tension—only to cast him out at the novel's end, when the Frenchman's passion finally turns to desperate self-loathing.

Thanks to Nabokov's familiarity with



Nabokov as an open-lipped child and a monstrous parent

words, *The Enchanter* is an elegant portrait of delirium. And it has the power to shock. But to read it beside *Invitation* is to understand afresh the brilliance of the later novel. While the girl in *The Enchanter* is little more than a dreamy abstraction, *Invitation* has a rich and memorable Shkuliary, the infatuated narrator of *Invitation*, Humbert Humbert, is a far more complex creation than the obsessed Percevaline in *The Enchanter*. That "first little throb of *Invitation*" still carries a certain shock value, but what it lacks in tenderness.

—MARIE ARLEY



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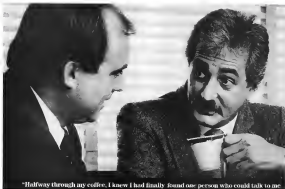
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PUBLISHING

Epics from a maelstrom

WHERE WIND

By James Clavell
(*Memories of Genghis Khan*,
\$147 pages, \$24.95)

By any measure, James Clavell's *Where Wind* is a mammoth literary undertaking. Exhaustively researched, enormous in scope, the book is at least six stories telescoped into one. Clavell calls it the fifth novel in his so-called Asian saga—a series that includes his best-selling epics of the Shogun clan, *Tan-Pan* and *Noble House*. But *Where Wind* has little connection with the Far East, although its heroes work for an Iranian-based British helicopter firm secretly controlled by the Russians. Instead, the action erupts during the first 26 days after the 1979 revolution in Iran, an event with far-reaching implications.

The novel begins on an escape operation codenamed "Barbarian." Andrew Garsland, head of a company supplying oil rigs with helicopters, is desperately trying to spirit his \$60-million fleet out of Iran before it is seized and nationalized by Iran's revolutionary government under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. On that night a score of separate subplots are planned. Along with handsome and heroic Western pilots—and their beautiful and tough-minded women—Clavell's book teems with terrified Japanese oil magnates, duplicitous Turkish spies, cunning Iranian bankers, dangerous Gorbachev and a collar full of lepers. And there is a multinational delegation of murder-son spies, including agents of the CIA, KGB, Britain's SIS, Iran's Mossad and the United States—most of whom eliminate each other before the book's nerve-shocking climax.

The story starts from the Soviet border to the Persian Gulf, and most of the 715 chapters have detailed maps to pinpoint locations. But *Where Wind* seems for an index of names and social political groups to keep things straight. Clavell is no literary stylist. He writes yards of crisp, swift dialogue, then sudden scenes of violent action. Except for his dazzling plots and the shrewd but honest Garsland, most of his characters are experts in deception, betrayal, bribery and murder.

In his first novel, *King Rat*, showed Clavell to be a sensitive craftsman. In subsequent epics, he has grasped his prose in machine-gun fashion, striding targets the size of billboards. Still, he

has learned the art of structuring convoluted plots that would have dazed even Dickens. Above all, with lengthy tales of gut-wrenching suspense, Clavell has mastered the technique of keeping readers turning pages until



Clavell: exploring the Iranian revolution

down. *Where Wind* will have them doing it for a week.

—PAUL BINE

James Clavell does things on a grand scale. The author, 62, is more than six feet tall and weighs close to 200 lbs. His novels of the Far East, mostly shorter than 500 pages, are hefty enough to give librarians chromosome concerns. In 1980 a television miniseries based on his best-selling epic, *Shogun*, drew more than 130 million viewers worldwide. *Where Wind*, his latest saga of intrigue, reached a new literary milestone when Clavell's U.S.

publishers, William Morrow & Co., advanced him an unprecedented \$3 million—which could push up the asking price of other blockbuster authors, while making resources scarcer for less-known writers. But the real question, said Clavell, is "Does the publisher make the advance back?"

Raised in a British military family, Clavell served in the Second World War until he was captured by the Japanese and sent to the notorious Changi prisoner-of-war camp near Singapore. Only 16,000 of the 150,000 inmates survived. Bunking his three years there, Clavell said, "The Japanese tore my heart out." Still, he added that the camp "gave me a strength most people don't have." It also gave him the raw material for *King Rat*.

An established screenwriter, Clavell's credits include the 1958 action-adventure classic *The Fly* and the 1967 classroom drama *To Sir with Love*. His grasp of that medium has produced feature films translated to film or TV. The film adaptation of *Tan-Pan* is now playing across North America, and a TV mini-series of Clavell's 1981 novel *Noble House* is underway.

He works from his own exhaustive research, gleaned from interviews with his family and newspaper clippings. "I got every scrap of information into project files," he said. "This one I labelled T—not 'Iran'—for I'm very sensitive about future projects." His description of pilots duties from a day in Vancouver, where he earned his own pilot's license. But what he calls the book's "barrel" is the Khomeini, Iran's holy book, which Clavell read in Chungli The Shah of Iran's depiction reminded him of the French and Russian revolutions. "With the same catastrophe results. I thought, 'What a story.'" He started to write *Where Wind* on Sept. 22, 1982. But even the prodigious Clavell occasionally suffers writer's block. He was stalled, he recalls, until he shifted his novel's opening scenes set before the Shah's departure—"everyone knew he'd left, there was no tension"—to the day after when Khomeini's armies were there, he said. "Things flowed" miraculously. He finished his first draft by July, 1983, his second by October and his third by Christmas.

Still, he is careful not to make his story too sentimental, second son step. "Writing is not just hanging away," said Clavell. "A lot is watching, listening, picking yourself into that wondrous place where all these things happen." And for the action writer with the *Moby* nose, these often happen on a grand scale.

—P.K. LeTourneau

THE REVIVAL
By Sandra Birrell
Directed by Michael McCus

With her few eyes for detail, Winnipeg writer Sandra Birrell has built a reputation as one of the country's finest writers. Her short stories have brought to life the lower-class Leftwingers family and their recent, small-town emotions. The Revival is an attempt to transplant the Leftwingers from the page to the stage. But while Birrell's script contains some careful, intelligent writing, the conversion fails.

Set in 1906, the drama focuses on Mica Lambert (Sherry Rex), a Manitoba woman who holds one-sided conversations with God, and on her husband, Maurice (Lee J. Campbell), an uneducated Minn. barber who brams with occasional anger when he has had too much beer. Thrown into the mix is the couple's 10-year-old daughter, Betty (Leslie-Anne Sanders), and Mica's half-brother, Peter (John Ford), who has returned from the United States to lead a community strike against another village-level meeting, which hangs over the play like a threatening storm.

The title is ironic: instead of experiencing revival, the Leftwingers are completely exhausted by the end of the play. Mica publicly humiliates Maurice for his drinking. He then destroys their only marital paradise by raping her, leaving Betty tormented by her parents' mutual betrayal. Despite a series of scenes acting from Rex and Campbell, this production is doomed by the script, which leaves too much action to the audience's imagination. What Birrell presents in *The Revival* is five characters desperately in search of a short-story author.

—BRIAN KENTZ

MURDER AT McQUEEN

By Erica Asher
Directed by Andrew Marshall

High-class soap opera, *Murder at McQueen*, by CBC Radio host Erica Asher, examines the lives of four professional women. The play—currently premiering at Toronto's Tarragon Theatre—is set in the exclusive, all-female McQueen Club, where the characters meet regularly. Sex and independence have taken their toll on relationships with the opposite sex, and much of their social talk is devoted to the eternal problem of men. The fact that two of the women unwittingly share the same lover, talk-show host Rex Hahn (Michael

Billy), adds a melodramatic twist to their friendship and points to the central message of the play's title: *Murder at McQueen* is about the small murders that people commit when trust is betrayed.

The best moments of the play sparkle with Billy's sarcasm, slightly masculinely wit. The club's owner, Miss Ford (Linda Serwint), nervously expresses her worries about growing old alone when she jokes that she has begun to "use up simple Billy, the evening guest, as a romantic possibility."



Rex Hahn, Lambert's friend, lover and seducer in a vicious battle for money

to." But such lines, while entertaining, leave little room to say about the problems of contemporary women. Of the characters, only Rex (Tom (Goffe Sample), a corporate lawyer and rack-hard feminist, shows any complexity. The men in the drama—Hahn and private detective Jesse Butler (David McWhorter)—are victims of arrested development. Their lines are either carefully wooden or burdened with Billy's facile tendency to be cute instead of psychologically accurate. *Murder at McQueen* is a pleasantly tart diversion, but not much more.

—JOHN DEMME

GLENGARRY GLEN ROSS

By David Mamet
Directed by Rick Green

A harsh drama about the Chicago real estate scene, *Glengarry Glen Ross*, by American playwright David Mamet, serves up

some of the most sharply leoned and snarling theatre of the new Toronto season. The Pulitzer Prize-winning work, playing at the Richard Street Theatre, transmits Mamet's contention that envy and greed are the engines that power North American capitalism—with often tragic consequences for the people involved in space but forceful street language, generously spiced with epithets and suggestive silence. *Glengarry Glen Ross* assaults the audience with the spectacle of five men competing viciously with each other—all for money. The message is that Mamet (Mamet



Porter) in Chicago makes their torturous battle exhilarating to watch. The play opens in a restaurant, where two employees of a real estate firm, Shelley Levine (Glenn Lambert) and John Williamson (Peter Bane), are arguing bitterly. His career as a salesman in eclipse, Shelley tries to persuade John, his only manager, to give him better "leads"—introductions to prospective buyers. John's reluctance—and the mounting pressure to survive in his fiercely competitive environment—eventually drives Shelley to a crime that brings tragedy crashing on his head.

Lambert's dog insistence in Mamet's colloquial idiom makes an abiding real Shelley. And Mamet's play is so well-served by Rick Green's smooth direction that the production transcends its overly vulgar matter, intelligence and grit. *Glengarry Glen Ross* has the uncomfortable feel of raw truth.

—L.B.

Actress with a playwright's pen

Actress and playwright, Nicholene Cevendish is usually an advocate of art. But last August she hesitated over a chance to make her debut on Broadway. Actor/Director Brian

Bedford offered her a small but coveted role—as the executive maid, Edith—in Neil Coward's classic comedy *Shirley*. Bedford had already signed Garrys Page and Richard Chamberlain for the production, which opens in New York next March. Still, Cevendish, 34, was nervous about abandoning her boyfriend and her burgeoning career as an actress in this country. A member of the resident company of Toronto's Second Stage Theatre, she is currently starring in Vancouver playwright David King's *Life Skills* at the Foothill Theatre. And she has some television and stage projects to come. It took the result and encouragement from a marriage to persuade her to also accept the Big Apple's challenge.

First, a hard-core reader predicted that Cevendish would "soon take a trip. This is a man who had sold her a used car and urged her to take the job. Actress and longtime friend Gelfe Sample predicts that Cevendish will strike gold on Broadway. Said Sample: "When Nicholene says you can't take your eyes off her I guarantee that even as the wall she'll be acting."

Cevendish has spent the past 10 years concentrating on her theatrical reputation, mainly as a character actress. Born in England and raised in Princeton, N.J., she attributes her drive to her brushes with death in

two diabetic onsets before she was 20. "I came back, and it made me appreciate life," she says, "and Cevendish: 'Because I was lucky, I want to grab life.'"

She studied theatre at the University of British Columbia, was reader work in theatres out West and then, in 1982, starred as Edith Doolittle in *Paguy* at the Shaw Festival in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont. Her range is impressive. In the past few years Cevendish has shown that she can play comic parts like Doolittle, middle-aged lesbians and emotionally disturbed teenagers with equal dexterity. It was in the latter role that Bedford saw her last. Of Toronto's Second Stage production of Caryl Churchill's *Top Girls*, her performance persuaded him to hire her for *Shirley*.

She has also branched out into television, playing a pinner in the CBC mini-series *Red Sorghum* last January. It was so popular that a sequel, also starring Cevendish, will be aired in February. Now, the demand for her time exceeds the supply. Because of her scheduled New York engagement, Cevendish had to relinquish the starring role in next year's *Edith Piaf* at the Grand Theatre in London, Ont. Said Grand artistic director Larry Lillo: "I'm disappointed for the part existed for her. She's one of the finest actresses in Canada today."

At the same time, Cevendish is also emerging as a talented playwright with an offbeat style of comedy. In 1985, she wrote *West Coast* playwright Sam Wood co-wrote and co-



Cevendish champion

starred in the wildly popular Vancouver hit *North Shore Lane*, a feature of television talk shows. It satirized moosehustling (Wood), a complete wannabe who tries to seduce a 20-year-old pornography star named Althea Zuck. And last year Cevendish wrote *It's Showtime on Skidsping*, a whimsical play featuring a klutzesomely destined and an off-wisely who refuses to grant unusual rights because of his seven halitosis—to be staged next month by Vancouver's Arts Club Theatre. Deconstructing her versatility, Cevendish will play the elf, his wife and a lesbian real estate saleswoman. Said Cevendish: "I write these characters that are almost impossible for other people to perform with any sense of reality."

Cevendish's fertile imagination is now at work on characters for a co-woman show she is writing. Meanwhile she is hoping that her Broadway performance will help propel her to a role in London's West End. Now that she has decided to conquer New York, the abundance of Canadian theatre is opening the rest of the world—conceded, she says, that "there is an angel sitting on my shoulder."

—JANE STEINER in Vancouver

MACLEANS' BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1. *King's*
2. *Whitfield, Gerald*
3. *The Princess of Loo, Mervyn*
4. *Red Storm Rising, Higgins*
5. *Wanderlust, Scott*
6. *The Telling of Lies, Frithy*
7. *A Matter of Honour, Archer*
8. *A Perfect Spy, Covert*
9. *Art of War, Swaglow*
10. *Ellywood, Higgins, Collier*

Nonfiction

1. *The Boomerang, Henry*
2. *Vamp, Jackson*
3. *His Way: The Unsettled Disunity of Frank Sinatra, Arty*
4. *Politeness, Oshy*
5. *Monks, Linspire*
6. *Controlling Interest, Who Owns Canada?*
7. *James Kennedy's Day Stories, Arty*
8. *Capitalism: By Fish Words, Eshel, Stein, Politeness*
9. *The Master Builders, Foster*
10. *Linear in Winkler, Perseus and Gwynne*

(1) Fiction list only.

—Compiled by Frances McNeely

A long walk on a thin limb

By Allan Fotheringham

This is embarrassing. This is very embarrassing. I haven't been so embarrassed since the time at age nine I got lost at a Sunday school picnic, crashed another church's picnic and won all the money in the games. The reason I blush even as I type is that this involves my book. You know, my best-selling book, *Capital Offence: Do Fools Merit Uncle Sam* (Key Porter, \$19.95), was now shamelessly climbing the book lists, threatening James Herriot's dog stories and causing trouble to shoulder Robert Morley's *Stones Come*.

Most everyone has reviewed it. *The Globe and Mail* was said to grieve I could have been, if I had stuck to my last, a reasonable sportswriter. The *Toronto Star* guy couldn't figure the whole thing out and felt sorry for me. The *Montreal Gazette* reviewer spent anathematically much of newspaper to say "who cares?" The seasoned *Post* reviewer, who has travelled the world, found it a piece of lightweight junk. And so on. I won't bore you.

There is only one problem. Canada's weekly newspaper has not seen fit to review this eye that is sure to remind Western civilization. My publisher has been told that it is Morley's policy not to review books written by its contributors. I seem to recall reviews of a guy called Newman, but that is beside the point. I respect policy. If there is anything deflected by what is laughtful, as well as my career, it is responsibility, authority, the party line I never disobey. If this magazine does not review contributors' books, there seems only one disaster's solution I hesitate as I type, but it seems I must review my own book.

Our most renowned the scribes. This is a cut-throat act as *Books* approaches Pierre Berton, the colonel who stands outside the autographing tables, in out there, Eugene Whelan, the intellectual residence of the Liberal party, is out there, begging his manuscript, known as *Senator Judas Drey* to his friends and

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Stoughton News*.

Senator Keith Jaurist to his enemies, has sworn not to associate with the airline. *Chatterbox* notes, René Lévesque is travelling with his bodyguard Sheila Copps has written her thick memoirs entitled *Nobody's Baby* only to discover she is pregnant, meaning she's nobody's baby but somebody's mother. How can a simple lady, modest to a fault, compete with all this?

The only solution, one being forced to it by circumstance, is to review one's own book. Where can one start? There is such a cornucopia of insights

the street, and resorted to his secretary. "Our side is winning," the secretary asked, "Which is our side?" Talleyrand: "We'll know is approximately half an hour." I digress. As with Devey and Copps and Whelan and Lévesque, not to mention Lynch, I reveal heretofore-unmentioned incidents of childhood days, too sacred to recount in Canada's weekly newspaper that does not review, as a matter of policy, its own household pets. Charles Lynch, my close friend, in an earlier version of what is proving to be his never-ending narrative, told about tending the cash register in a French whorehouse and how he caused an erection on an elephant in the Berlin zoo. Whenever turn you on. The sex or some other source of my memorable episode of inside Washington will find as such lascivious stuff, having to content themselves with the bare quantity of the lady's sex, Ronald Reagan's early years as a lifeguard and really heavy stuff on the dressing habits of American women. We hold nothing back.

I don't want to go into the disgusting details of why the White House didn't want to give me a press pass (undoubtedly because I once had a thin newspaper—in that's a *South American* aphorism—with *Farley Mowat*). Or the shocking revelations about the Reagan children. Let us also that for the bookkeeper.

You really want to know the truth about *Montgomery, Meigsford, Richard Nixon* and *Ray Charles*? My favorite section is the revelations about Sherry Ball and Louis Ball, who have a link with Lorne Greene and Paul Anka. *Mila Maitrey* has already given the book a thumbs-down assessment. The *Green* *Chen* book offer was so intrigued he asked me how much I weighed. Does anyone care how much John Irving weighs? If so, why? Such imponderables count heavily with those of us who cover beneath the left of Dr. Herriot and Bill Cosby, not to mention Robert Morley.

It is a hard, nasty task to perform, to review one's own book—particularly when one by nature is modest and shy. But someone has to do it.



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